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Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that the Yugoslav Presidency has sent a memorandum to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali. The memorandum portrays Croatia's involvement and military engagement in Bosnia-Hercegovina as a "classical armed agression aimed at conquering and annexing Bosnia-Hercegovina." The memorandum also mentions the "deployment" of the "latest military technology and weapons" accompanied with "unimaginable brutality" by the Croatian Army toward the Serb civilian population. The Presidency "expects" the United Nations and the international community to undertake "urgent measures aimed at halting" Croatia's further "aggression" against Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbia—In an interview carried by the Hungarian paper UJ MAGYARORSZAG, Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic views the UN sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as "unfair" and adds that "the Security Council did not justly analyze the blame of every participant in the conflict." He further stated: "The only thing that these sanctions achieved was the possibility of creating further complications, rather than the restoration of peace."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

According to TANJUG, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus Ghali submitted a report describing the current situation. Butrus Ghali "voices hope" for a "lasting peaceful settlement of the conflict." In the report, "for the first time" Butrus Ghali "practically" places "equal" blame for "stirring the war" on Croatia and Serbia.

TANJUG reports that the UN Security Council president received a letter from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, demanding that the UN adopt a new resolution that "would envisage sanctions and other measures aimed at immediate Yugoslav National Army withdrawal" from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Hungary

TANJUG reports that Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky stated "he did not understand" why the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia regarded as a "hostile act" his recent proposal for "sending an international force to protect the minorities" in the Serbian provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo. According to TANJUG, in response to Jeszensky's proposal, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that Jeszensky's actions were "not motivated by a desire for peace" but by "some other ambitions and purposes."

MTI reports that a border agreement was signed between Croatia and Hungary. The document, which is the first concrete agreement between the two countries to regulate protocol, was created to "ensure smooth border traffic, and the settlement of possible issues."

Bulgaria's Ganev Comments on Macedonian Issue

AU1306180092 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13-14 Jun 92 p 9

[Report by Wolfgang Koydl: "The Dispute About Names Conceals the Real Problem"]

[Text] Sofia, in June [dateline as published]—Measured by the atrocities committed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, it is almost a wonder that the Yugoslav conflict has not yet spread to other states. This could, however, change if and when the ethnic war reaches Macedonia, the southernmost former Yugoslav republic. In a SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG interview, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said he is concerned that this might "blow up the Balkans."

If it were to come to that, one country in particular will be largely accountable for it, a country that as a member of the European Community and NATO has so far prevented an objective discussion of the problem and the recognition of Macedonia—Greece. It is true that Bulgarian diplomacy largely shares Athens' reservations about the young state, but politicians in Sofia are shocked at the hysteria with which Greece has reduced the problem to a relatively unimportant point and has thus made a serious discussion impossible—the problem of the name.

With reference to the ancient Greek kings, Philip and Alexander, Athens denies its neighbor the right to the name Macedonia. Greece insinuates that the politicians in Skopje derive from the name territorial claims to northern Greece, including the port city of Salonika. Bulgaria's foreign minister also says that Macedonia is a "geographical term" covering, in addition to the newly independent republic, some areas of southwestern Bulgaria and northern Greece. Nonetheless, Bulgaria, which was the first country to recognize Macedonia—very much to the anger of the Greeks—"does not have any problem with the name." It is true that there could be a "danger of confusion," says Ganev, "but every country has the right to choose its own name."

On the other hand, Bulgaria is concerned about a passage in the Macedonian Constitution under which Skopje assumes responsibility for the well-being of all Macedonian minorities abroad. "Those who believe they can lightly decide who is a minority in other countries risk an explosion," says Ganev. In his view, it is this "ideological Macedonism," dreaming "artificially and not seriously" about a state of all Macedonians, that makes the former Yugoslav republic a "factor of instability in the Balkans."

Bulgaria is convinced that the campaign launched by Athens about the name, which has been watched in Brussels with growing irritation, has been harmful rather than helpful for the common cause. "Those who are dead set on the name obstruct the view of the essential points," says Ganev. This is all the more regrettable since knowledge in Europe and the United States on the complicated political situation in the Balkans is very poor anyway, adds Ganev. A dispute about a name is making the whole problem "incredible."

The Greeks have not recognized for a long time that Sofia and Athens are pulling together. For instance, Ganev is not unhappy that the EC has not yet recognized Macedonia, even though this has caused the young state to disappear into a sort of diplomatic Bermuda Triangle. It does not belong to Yugoslavia any more, nor is it a separate republic with all attributes of a state, like Slovenia or Croatia. Ganev proposes bilateral Greek-Macedonian negotiations with Bulgarian participation, before Macedonia may be recognized by the EC.

The Greeks strongly provoked Bulgarian Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov when he came to Greece on an official visit early this year. Prime Minister Mitsotakis was not available for talks because he had allegedly caught a cold. The Bulgarians reacted coldly by reminding their southern neighbor that he was running the risk of increasingly isolating himself. Sofia argued that if Greece offended the Turks, the Albanians, the Macedonians, and now also the Bulgarians, it would soon be isolated from Europe.

Meanwhile, Bulgaria believes that a certain degree of common sense seems to have returned to Greek policy. During a visit to Athens several weeks after the chief of government's visit, Foreign Minister Ganev succeeded in warming up the relations somewhat. But Ganev's Ministry intends to continue calling upon the Greeks to look at themselves first on the minority issue. The people in Bulgaria speak publicly about the fact that in northern Greece a Slav minority is suppressed. That minority is not permitted to speak their Macedonian language because Greece does not wish to damage the image of the "homogeneous Greek nation."

In addition, the Greek spear that is targeted against Macedonia could easily be turned around, and it would be easy to ascribe territorial ambitions to Athens, say the Bulgarians. For example, Sofia has regularly criticized the fact that Greece has a "Ministry for Macedonia and Thracia" in Salonika, far away from Athens. Bulgaria says that malicious people might see revanchist claims behind this. After all, there are also Macedonian and Thracian areas in Bulgaria and Turkey.

Berisha Comments on U.S. Visit, Meeting With Bush

AU1706105392 Tirana ATA in English 0840 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Tirana, June 17 (ATA)—During his stay in the U.S.A., on June 16 the Albanian President Sali Berisha granted an interview to the co-worker with "The Voice of America" Elez Biberaj.

[Biberaj] Mr. President, in the course of last three days you have had a prominent diplomatic activity. Can we start with your considerations on the negotiations you had with President Bush and other U.S. senior officials? Are you pleased with the outcome of this visit?

[Berisha] I may say right from the beginning that I am very pleased with the negotiations and meetings I have had in the course of these days in Washington, particularly with the meeting I had on June 15 and the frank and warm and friendly conversation we had at the White House with President George Bush, the Secretary of State James Baker, the Adviser of National Security Scowcroft. The meeting lasted about 40 minutes and I presented to Mr. Bush an overview on the difficult economic situation Albania is living. Albania, I said at this meeting, is a particular case amongst all the Eastern countries because, apart from the most savage dictatorship, it experienced the most profound isolation and the lowest scale of development in Europe. It is precisely these factors that are so difficult to democracy and the build of market economy. That is why I asked President Bush that the U.S. Administration, U.S. state and private institutions help Albania build the market economy by means of a technical, financial, and humanitarian aid.

On the other hand we discussed at length on the situation in the region, the state of the Albanians in Kosovo, [Serbian President] Milosevic's aggressiveness, and possible aggression against a fully unarmed population. In our view, it is very significant to prevent conflict in Kosovo. We fully agree with the embargo, although its economic price is very dear to Albania. We persisted that the embargo know other stages, because we uphold that no CSCE member country should adhere to this organization as long as it observes none of its principles. President Bush expressed his determination to aid Albania. He told me that he has just signed the decree to grant Albania the status of the most favoured nation. After being approved by the Senate, it opens and creates chances for a new epoch in the economic relations between Albania and the United States. On the other hand, President Bush, the Secretary of State Baker, and Mr. Scowcroft expressed their profound concern over the developments in our region and Yugoslavia. They simultaneously took particular interest in Kosovo, the state of the Albanians there, the forms and ways to settle this crisis, and aired the determination of the U.S. Administration not to be tolerant to Milosevic and to step up the measures in case he carries on conflict in Bosnia to prevent conflict in Kosovo and other regions.

I must say that the meeting was open, friendly, and cordial. At the end of this meeting I invited President Bush to visit Albania and he accepted the invitation with pleasure.

[Biberaj] Mr. President, did you reach any concrete agreement on U.S. aid to Albania during the talks?

[Berisha] In the talks I had at the White House as well as at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Agriculture and at the Ministry of the Treasury it came out that the United States will provide Albania with a considerable quantity of cotton and butter. We also agreed to continue the aid of emergency for 1993 which will be an aid in basic food products due to the great shortages for 1993. Hence, in October this year other aid in grain, vegetable oil, sugar, and other basic food products will be planned. They also agreed that after the approval of the status of the most favoured nation, they will see to all the possibilities for a closer economic cooperation. On the other hand, a technical assistance will be provided in the sector of banks, finances, and economy.

[Biberaj] Mr. President, you met also with senior officials of the World Bank and IMF. Can you forecast when will the agreement between Albania and the IMF be reached?

[Berisha] On June 15, I met with IMF Director General Mr. Camdessus. I discussed with him at length on the problem of our government's programme which was backed up by the IMF. I aired my unfaltering trust of the democratic forces and government in the IMF. Certainly, I demanded and insisted that the IMF recognize some difficulties and peculiarities of Albania, Mr. Camdessus completely agreed on. The IMF assured me that this institution will very soon signal the green light to all the other institutions to start and continue the economic, financial, and technical aid for Albania. I must say that the problems existing between the Albanian Government and the IMF are solved.

I consider this a major outcome of this visit. Likewise I discussed at length with the Director of the World Bank on South-Eastern Europe Mr. Kemal Dervish. We discussed about the project of this bank to help Albania. We gave particular importance to the projects on social assistance which is intended at local employment in order to cope with poverty. The World Bank is working to find funds so that this project starts as soon as possible. As you also know, the World Bank will intensively engage in agriculture, transport, and health service. Naturally, the World Bank is also expecting the IMF signal the green light as a second step, which is to be given soon.

Meciar Vienna News Conference on HZDS Policy

LD1606205492 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] [Announcer] While Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus informed journalists about their talks in Prague, Vladimir Meciar met in (?Concordia) Hall in Vienna with Austrian, Czechoslovak, and also foreign journalists accredited in Vienna. The news conference took approximately an hour and Vladimir Meciar explained there also the standpoint of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on the controversial issues mentioned by Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus. Vladimir Meciar said in this connection: [Begin Meciar recording] Our controversy is a dispute which should be conducted in a civilized way. If a split is to take place we are against it being uncontrolled and we favor the path of a directed process. The first question was connected with the different attitude of Mr Klaus and our side at the talks. Mr Klaus has a mandate for two extreme solutions: either to preserve the joint state or the joint state must break up. He does not believe that its split can be directed. He refuses to conclude a treaty about the recognition of joint interests and in the case of a split of the state he thinks that a sort of customs union should exist.

Our standpoint is to change the federation to confederation in which two subjects of international law should be respected, foreign policy should be coordinated, in some states representative bodies could be common, the organization of defense would be joint, there would be a joint protection of human and civic rights, joint regulation of the market and the regulation of currency. All implements that contribute to the stability of currency would be joint. The basic difference lies in the position that the Civic Democratic Party rejects a dialogue on confederation, sees it as a rejection of federation and then according to its program only a split is possible. In this situation the Slovak side proposes a system for agreement: that we define our common interest and prepare an agreement which would be a guarantee that also in the case that the citizens of Slovakia will vote for sovereignty in the referendum it will make it possible for both sides to preserve common interests. Neither the president nor Klaus want this. In this situation Slovakia is forced to take unilateral steps. It will have to declare its political sovereignty. It will adopt its constitution, it will propose a referendum so the citizens of Slovakia can say in what state set up they want to live.

In harmony with our proposals, we are willing at any time to conclude an agreement with the Czech Republic. It would be most beautiful if we agreed.[end recording]

[Announcer] Further information from Vladimir Meciar's news conference in Vienna has been processed by Magda Pospisilova who is with me in the studio at the moment.

[Pospisilova] In spite of some post-election doubts of foreign countries about the future direction of Czechoslovakia, Vladimir Meciar assured more than 50 journalists present that in the Slovak republic a market economy with social accent will be preserved—that is a model near to the Austrian one—and the process of privatization will not be halted either. He emphasized that Slovakia is not interested in a conflict with any state and is reaching out a friendly hand to all its neigbours, mainly the nearest one in the Czech republc. There is no political force or organization in Slovakia that would want to deal with the controversial issues of coexistence by force, said the HZDS chairman in connection with the talks on the future of the Czechs and Slovaks. Foreign journalists therefore wanted to know what ways out does the HZDS see from this situation.

[Begin Meciar recording] We see the option of concluding an agreement between the Civic Democratic Party and us about the formation of the Federal government and its program. The Federal parliament can start to operate on 25 June. With regard to the Federal Government, our views on its composition and political programme differ but these things can be overcome. [end recording] [Pospisilova] Slovakia is not threatened, according to Vladmir Meciar, by any restoration of socialism. Slovakia will not follow the road to the Urals but it will search for a path toward the West. He added that much misunderstanding springs from the fact that the term "social" and "socialist" are confused.

If the citizens decide to make Slovakia a subject of international law they must, as Vladimir Meciar said, know that it will bring also a temporary worsening of their economic situation and they must show willingness to be able to bear this unfavorable consequence. He said that public opinion polls have shown that 78 percent of the inhabitants of the Slovak republic are for making Slovakia a subject of international law and at the same time they do not want to wish to break the rest of the relations with the Czech Republic. The chairman of the HZDS expressed a conviction that there are no serious obstacles in the issue of international recognition of Slovakia. He also said:

[Begin Meciar recording] Yesterday we asked all politicians present at the Castle to try to define why they needed the Slovaks: they claim that they have to pay for us, they claim that we are separatists - nationalists, they claim that we are permanently causing an internal crisis, they claim that we are unacceptable internationally; so they should tell us simply why they need us. We received no answer. [end recording]

[Pospisilova] At a news conference with Vladimir Meciar today journalists did not evade the issue of conversion either. The chairman of the MFDS said that in spite of the attenuation programs the armament industry will continue to be preserved. He said that as long as Slovakia lacks sufficient funds for compensatory production programs and has no jobs for people it will be developing this industry, like France, England, and other states.

So much on the main issues of Vladimir Meciar's news conference in Vienna today. In the afternoon he was to

meet Heinz Fischer, the chairman of the National Council. No press agency has either confirmed or denied this hitherto. At 2200 [2000 GMT] Vladimir Meciar should answer the questions of the editors of a news bulletin of the Austrian Television ORF Zeit im Bild and afterward he should speak in a feature bulletin Klub Zwei.

Meciar Denies Printing of Slovak Currency

AU1606134492 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 15 Jun 92 p 2

[CSTK report]

[Text] The Movement For a Democratic Slovakia has elaborated no alternatives regarding the federation's breakup into two separate states. According to party Chairman Vladimir Meciar, the rumors about 40 billion Slovak korunas to be printed—with which the Czech Government and Federal bodies, too, have dealt—are disinformation. He designated one of the Slovak Republic deputy prime ministers, whom he did not name, as its author.

HZDS's Kovac Expected To Head Parliament

LD1706132292 Prague CSTK in English 1115 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Prague (CSTK)—Michal Kovac, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), is expected to become chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament), according to information passed to CSTK by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), today.

He said the participants in today's second round of talks of the new parliamentary parties, which emerged from the June 5-6 elections, accepted the proposal which is yet to be put to the vote.

Miroslav Macek, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), at the start of the talks told journalists that ODS member Filip Sedivy is most likely to become the parliament's first deputy chairman.

Representatives of the new parliamentary parties agreed during the first round of their talks Thursday June 11 that the parliament be headed by a member of the HZDS (the winner of the elections in Slovakia), and that its first deputy chairman should come from the ODS (the winner in the Czech republic).

Before the start of the talks, HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar met with Richard Sacher, Czechoslovakia's interior minister from the end of 1989 till June 1990.

Sacher told journalists that there was "more agreement than disagreement" during their talks. Meciar said their views on the situation in Czechoslovakia and on the current ODS-HZDS talks "are very close".

Attending today's talks are in addition to Meciar, Macek and Weiss, also deputy chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Josef Mecl, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Jiri Horak, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party Josef Lux, chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS) Jozef Prokes, chairman of the assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party Miroslav Sladek, member of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) council Ivan Simko, chairman of the Egyuetteles Miklos Duray (representing the coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Egyuetteles and the Hungarian People's Party, MKDH-ESW-MLS), and deputy chairman of the Liberal Social Union (LSU) Ladislav Dvorak.

Parties Agree on Makeup of Parliamentary Bodies

AU1506203392 Prague CSTK in English 1247 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 11 (CSTK)— Representatives of political parties which won seats in the Czechoslovak parliament last weekend agreed today that the chairman of the new parliament will be a deputy proposed by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Deputy Chairman Miroslav Macek told reporters that the participants in the meeting also agreed that a representative of the ODS-KDS (Christian Democratic Party) coalition would fill the post of the parliament's first vice chairman.

The meeting was attended by the leaders of the ODS, KDS, HZDS, the Democratic Left Party (SDL), the Left Bloc (LB), the Czechoslovak Social Democrats (CSSD), the Slovak Social Democrats (SDSS), the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), the Liberal Social Union (LSU), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Egyutteles (MKDH-ESWS) coalition, and the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH).

The Slovak parties proposed that the election of the Czechoslovak president take place on June 29, but suggested no deadline for forming a new federal government, Macek said.

He said that HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar said during the meeting the HZDS would have no coalition partner in the Federal parliament. "This means the HZDS enters the federal parliament as one strong party with the quiet support of the other Slovak parties," Macek added.

Current federal parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek described the meeting as one of key importance for the Klaus-Meciar talks, to be held later today. "All parliamentary issues have been solved to the satisfaction of representatives of all political parties," he said.

[Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 12 June on page 1 carries a 700- word "Ius, jak"-signed report on the 11 June meeting of representatives of political parties that were elected into the Federal Assembly. The report quotes ODS representative Miroslav Macek as saying that, although filling the posts of another two parliament deputy chairmen is still a bone of contention, "it seems that the candidacy of a KDU-CSL member and of an SDL member would be a generally acceptable possibility."]

Havel, Klaus Discuss Current Talks With Meciar

LD1606151392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Vaclav Klaus told journalists today that the information given by President Havel about his talks yesterday with representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] was very valuable for the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. According to Vaclav Klaus, the idea that Slovakia should become a subject of international law is gaining more favor in the HZDS..

President Havel rejected the views according to which the ODS is overstepping its mandate in the talks, and stressed that the ODS is acting in a legitimate way. He said that if the government coalition is to be formed by two parties with substantially different views on the future of this state, and if the federal government was to be functional, both sides first have to make clear to each other their views on the future of the state and seek solutions which are acceptable to them. Vaclav Havel said that the ODS and the HZDS also have the support of other political groupings in the Czech lands and Slovakia.

Both Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus denied that the talks between the strongest political parties are burdened by ideological discrepancies.

Havel Briefs Press on Talks on New Government

LD1606134292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] President Vaclav Havel said that after tomorrow's and Friday's negotiations between Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], it may be possible to reach an agreement on a starting point for further talks or even for appointing a federal government. He said this to journalists after meeting the ODS delegation today. Vaclav Klaus, head of the delegation, said that the ODS will do everything to conclude the talks with the HZDS on a political level this week. Further negotiations should only deal with partial technical and organizational matters.

Vaclav Klaus again stressed that the negotiations cannot be protracted. He also said that at tomorrow's meeting with the HZDS the ODS will put forward its proposal on a government policy statement and specific proposals concerning a future federal government.

Slovak Press Comments on Klaus-Meciar Talks

AU1506142692 Prague CSTK in English 0833 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpts] Bratislava— The Slovak daily NARODNA OBRODA says that the foreign press, which describes the current dialogue between HZDS leader Vladimir Meciar and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus as destructive, exaggerates or at least is running ahead of events. It says the talks rather resemble the tactics of an oriental market, with both sides setting high initial prices in order to be able to later knock them down. The paper says in the foreseeable future Czech-Slovak constitutional relations will be different from those currently existing. Both Klaus and Meciar realize the relations must be functional if they are to exist at all, it adds.

In the Slovak edition of TELEGRAF, Hungary's Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Gyorgy Varga says the political scene in Slovakia has crystallized after last weekend's elections and is now clearer. If Slovakia becomes independent, no one in Hungary will raise the question of revising Slovak-Hungarian borders, Varga says, adding that this would be a very dangerous thing and there will be no force in Hungary that would do it. [passage omitted]

In the daily PRACA Slovak Deputy Minister for International Relations Jan Havelka considers the possible effects of Czechoslovakia's disintegration. If Slovakia declares its sovereignty, it will be a clear signal abroad that Slovakia is leaving the federation, he says, and adds that Slovakia would thus lose all guarantees of international treaties, foreign investments, and protection of these investments. Havelka is convinced that both main political forces, the ODS and the HZDS, will find a solution, and says the central bodies in Prague must realize the need to set up a new relationship of two equal partners. Both parties' leaders (Meciar and Klaus) are experienced enough to realize their responsibilities, Havelka adds.

NOVY CAS writes that in contrast to the ODS, the HZDS has not yet realized that at the current stage it is no longer important what Czechoslovak newspapers write, but that the decisive struggle has shifted to the pages and waves of the foreign media. There, the paper says, Slovakia has not the slightest chance. Correspondents of world news organizations in Prague view developments in Czechoslovakia through the eyes of their Czech hosts. The daily says that 95 percent of foreign journalists would blame Slovakia for the breakup of the state.

Czech Press Comments on Klaus-Meciar Talks

AU1606121692 Prague CSTK in English 0822 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 15 (CSTK)—All Czech dailies today focus on the current talks between the winners of Czechoslovakia's June 5-6 elections, the right-wing Civic Democratic Party (ODS) of Vaclav Klaus and the left- and

national-orientated Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) of Vladimir Meciar.

LIDOVE NOVINY views the petitions for independent Bohemia, which are now being signed in the centre of Prague, as "useless emotions". It says that "giving up for lost the common state (of Czechs and Slovaks) already now is rather hasty" since in spite of the often unfeasible demands of the Slovak side, an agreement is still possible. And if no agreement is reached, then "there should be a calm separation controlled by parliament and free from emotional clamour", the daily says.

MLADA FRONTA DNES sees Meciar as "an unmanned bulldozer rushing headlong after his vision of 'democratic' Slovakia linked with the Czech Republic by only very loose ties". In an article entitled "Rise of Czech Nationalism" the daily comes to the conclusion that Meciar's hardly acceptable demands seem to be aimed at forcing the Czech side into a nervous breakdown and into taking a unilateral step that would give it a very unfavourable image in the eyes of the international public. This has already happened to some extent—"hundreds of people have lost their common sense and boarded the jolty cart of nationalism just as those on the other side of the Morava River (dividing the Czech and Slovak Republics), who harbour their dream about a great and prospering Slovakia".

CESKY DENIK compares the present situation in Czechoslovakia to that in 1948 (communist coup in February), and, pointing out the majority of left-orientated parties in both houses of the parliament, it warns against "February coming in June".

The daily NOVINY writes that the prospect of the Czech political life getting again under the control of the left has taken many people by surprise and the immaturity of the young right in Czechoslovakia is making it even worse. "As if it (the right) has not yet realized that November 1989 really was not a 'victorious' revolution solving everything but merely the culmination of a crisis and a disintegration of the untenable immoral socialist experiment. This disintegration is still under way, the daily says, adding that the process of restoring democratic society will be very complicated and will last a long time.

Questioning the aim of the Czech right's suggestion of an independent Czech state, the daily PRAVO LIDU writes that "those people must know that the world cannot be united by shifting border stones but only by borders becoming an anachronism." The paper argues that "no matter what economic model is chosen in Slovakia, it will always be better for the two peoples than a split of the state". The daily accepts the idea of two different economic systems competing within one state, of the Czech and Slovak Republics acting independently from the point of view of international law, and says that also Slovakia's representation in the United Nations is quite possible.

METROPOLITAN says that attempts at cutting the gordian knot of Czechoslovakia's state setup have lasted for two years and ended in a failure. "The Czech political representation must therefore cut it now and for this it needs a clear and strong support of the citizens of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Let's make it clear", the daily says.

Czechoslovak Federal Assembly First Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky in MLADA FRONTA DNES points out "the excessive hysteria in the public" at present. "We have had free elections whose legitimacy and results have not been questioned by anybody. The elected bodies have not yet met, have not started work...We should give them time to constitute themselves and start talks...It is only these bodies that are competent to decide whether for instance a referendum should be called at all", Jicinsky says.

Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Peter Weiss says in the same paper that as regards Czechoslovakia's state setup, his party envisages "a loose cooperating federation with common defence, currency and foreign policy".

Asked whether a "defence and economic union", as proposed by the HZDS in talks with the ODS would be acceptable for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), its Chairman Jiri Svoboda says in the daily PROSTOR that in his opinion, "our main aim is to seek another viable organism in the Czech-Slovak area," and that "any viable unit is better than a total split of the state into two independent republics".

ODS Official Says State Can Split Peacefully

LD1706095692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0700 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Deputy Chairman Miroslav Macek said that the Federal Government could be formed from the ranks of officials and highly qualified specialists who would prepare the division [rozdeleni] of the state.

He said on the television program "Udalosti a Komentare" ["Events and Comments"] that on the basis of information from President Vaclav Havel and the press conference given by Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Chairman Vladimir Meciar it was clear that the HZDS wanted to divide the federation.

It, therefore, follows, Miroslav Macek said, that until a referendum that would implement the division de jure, the Federal Assembly and the Federal Government would merely carry out care- taking and preparatory work for this division.

Asked whether it could be said that the Wednesday [17 June] and Friday [19 June]) talks between the ODS and HZDS representatives would be on a velvet separation, the deputy chairman said: You could well say that.

Dubcek Claims ODS, HZDS Exceeding Mandate

AU1606121292 Prague CSTK in English 2032 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Bratislava—Federal Assembly (parliament) Chairman Alexander Dubcek today said the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in their talks on Czechoslovakia's future are going beyond what is expected of them and exceeding the powers granted them.

Dubcek is also chairman of the Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS), which won 5 seats in the Federal Assembly in the June 5-6 elections.

In a statement released yesterday, the SDSS urges the ODS and HZDS to do all they can form [as received] the Federal Government and organise the Federal Assembly, both of which must first and foremost decide on further steps in working out Czechoslovakia's state setup.

New Czech National Council To Open 29 June

AU1506203292 Prague CSTK in English 2059 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Prague (CSTK)— The Czech National Council (parliament) Presidium today decided to convene the constituent session of the parliament June 29. It will elect a new Presidium and the chairmen of individual committees.

New Federal Parliament To Convene 22 June

AU1506203492 Prague CSTK in English 2025 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today summoned the new Czechoslovak parliament to open its session on June 22, 1992, Klara Dvorackova of the presidential office told CSTK today.

Opposition Excluded From Czech Presidium

AU1506203092 Prague CSTK in English 2029 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Prague— Czech parliament coalition partners (the Civic Democratic Party-Christian Democratic Party (ODS-KDS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), and the Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL)) agreed today that the parliament's Presidium should not be made up on the basis of the proportional representation (in the parliament), but mostly from representatives of coalition parties, ODS Deputy Chairman Jiri Vlach told CSTK today.

ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda also said the Czech parliament Presidium should be a coalition one, but there can be exceptions. "However, it should not be proportional," said Kalvoda.

ODS Accuses Communists of Destablilization

LD1506200492 Prague CSTK in English 1712 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Prague June 15 (CSTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) today blasted the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and its chairman Jiri Svoboda, accusing them of attempting to destabilise the political situation in Czechoslovakia and to return communist rule.

In a statement made available to CSTK, the ODS says that at a time when the foundations of the Czechoslovak state are in danger, the KSCM "is abusing the current situation to attempt to destabilise political life, to renew propaganda (in favour of) socialist and collectivist utopias, and to regain their power and their influence".

ODS spokesman Jiri Schneider said the statement was in reaction to a number of recent comments by KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda casting doubt on the ODS' mandate for talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Schneider said the document, signed by ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus, was not issued as a reaction to any one particular statement by the KSCM, but to its general line following the June 5-6 elections.

On Sunday Svoboda called the results of the weekend talks of the HZDS steering committee a "step in the right direction". On Saturday he told Czechoslovak Television that the resolution of Czechoslovakia's state setup should only be taken up by legislative bodies and not by representatives of two political parties.

Hungarian Deputies Want Cultural Autonomy

LD1606212192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] If Slovakia becomes independent, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement will demand territorial autonomy as a guarantee of minority rights. This was stated in Pozsony by Bela Bugar, chairman of the organization. He said that the Christian Democrats unequivocally support a common state which is capable of functioning, but within this, the Hungarian nationality needs cultural and educational autonomy.

Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Political Movement, also said that the question of the Hungarian minority must be resolved within the framework of cultural and territorial autonomy. Duray stated that the current Slovak language law must be repealed, because it does not safeguard the minorities' use of language.

Klaus Asks IMF for Help With Soviet Debt

LD1606130192 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Vaclav Klaus, deputy federal prime minister and minister of finance, turned to leading representatives of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank with a request for help in dealing with the debt of the

former Soviet Union toward Czechoslovakia. The point is that at present some advanced countries (?who also have claims) toward the former Soviet Union attempt to propose at upcoming Paris Club talks that a significant amount of Soviet debt be written off. The usual condition is to request that the same procedure be applied to all creditors. The current debt of the former Soviet Union toward Czechoslovakia is nearly five billion dollars; suspending the debt would seriously hamper the course of economic reform.

Ministry Spokesman on Current Security Issues

LD1006152492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1230 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Interview with Martin Fendrych, spokesman of Federal Ministry of the Interior, by reporter Ales Svoboda; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Svoboda] Mr. Fendrych, a period of internal political instability, like the one we are now experiencing after the elections, can lead to a certain threat to the state's internal security of the state. Are there any signs of this, or is this only a hollow theory?

[Fendrych] I should like to start by saying that during the election period in our country there were at the same time, naturally, special security measures in operation to protect polling stations and the elections and so on. This has now ended and we have no signs that the situation would be in any way deteriorating, that there would be any fluctuations in the security situation of our state.

Naturally, one has to say, on the other hand, that the laws which the Federal Assembly has passed, and other laws, are still valid—I am now speaking on behalf of the Federal Ministry of the Interior—that is, the Law on Conditions of Service of Members of the Federal Police Corps and Castle Police, and so on; this means that the minister and his staff are obliged to observe these laws and to carry out those tasks set for them by the law, such as the protection of the state borders and so on. This somewhat uncertain political situation must not be reflected in the work of the federal police corps or the Federal Ministry of Interior.

[Svoboda] It has emerged from a CSTK report that some agreement has been reached during talks between Peter Weiss and Vladimir Meciar on views on the abolition of the screening law and on personnel changes at the Federal Ministry of the Interior and in the Federal Security and Information Service [FSIS]. How do you see these views?

[Fendrych] To deal first with the screening law. This can be linked to my previous reply: The screening law was passed by the Federal Assembly and came into effect at the beginning of this year. This is a valid law, valid on the whole territory of our republic. There is nothing else to add to this, and it has to be observed. At the same time, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, as is known, does not function as an implementing body [servisni utvar], it issues [screening] certificates. It will continue this activity, naturally, as the law prescribes.

Concerning the second part of the question, concerning the FSIS personnel of the Federal Ministry. I should like to say that the FSIS is a credit to the Federal Ministry of the Interior and its senior representatives, as we can simply see that the Ministry has been functioning well. I am not saying that everything which has happened here in the past two years was quite right, there have been some operations which we consider as not well executed, such as the Mosnov operation [airport seizure last August], and not only the Mosnov. On the other hand this Ministry has been designed and constructed in such a way that today it does not threaten our citizens, on the contrary it is beginning to function as it should, as a Ministry which carries out administrative functions, a police executive service, and is beginning to protect our citizens very well indeed. This is true about the anti-narcoticsa brigades and the activities connected with this, and also the protection of the state borders, protection of constitutional representatives and so on.

Before the election we heard from the Federal Ministry of the Interior that Minister Langos and his Deputy Jan Ruml were unacceptable. I have to say again that since the reasons for this have not been given, one can only explain this [word indistinct] that these people guarantee that this Ministry is not abused and is used properly.

[Svoboda] We also know, Mr. Fendrych, the opposition of leading representatives of the Ministry concerning the existence of federal television and federal radio. I will now ask you, not as a press spokesman, but as a citizen, a person who has been in touch with journalism—do you think that there is a need for federal radio and television or not?

[Fendrych] I will reply first as a press spokesman and then as a citizen, as you ask. As a press spokesman I can only say one thing: The public has the right to receive information and we have really been trying in the past two years to inform people about events. As a citizen my reply is as follows: Such a demand, to abolish the federal broadcasting of radio and television, is quite clearly a step of a totalitarian representative, a person who wants to dictate conditions. I repeat again, the public has the right to receive information, and not only information from inside and from the party which won the elections, but also from outside.

In the past 40 years we experienced the information barrier. Many of us were taking part in supplying information from outside and distribution of information from inside. Federal broadcasting is necessary: It is necessary for citizens both in Slovakia and Bohemia to have complete information on what is going on in this state.

HZDS Official Favors Continuing Privatization

AU1506081092 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jun 92 p 1

[Interview with Lubomir Dolgos, former chairman of the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Deputy, by Stefan Mesaros; place and date not given: "Privatization Will Continue"]

[Text] At the time of heated discussions on whether to recall Ivan Miklos, Slovak Republic minister for the administration and privatization of national property, his defenders argued that without him privatization would stop. One of the people in parliament who insisted that it is nonsense because the privatization process cannot stand and fall with a single person was the former chairman of the Slovak Anti-Monopoly Office Lubomir Dolgos. Since the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] won the elections and Minister Miklos will soon resign, some citizens fear that privatization might stop. Will this be the case? We raised this and other questions with HZDS Deputy L. Dolgos.

[Mesaros] Will the privatization process stop with the advent of the new government, in which the HZDS ministers are likely to dominate?

[Dolgos] Ascribing to us the intention to stop coupon privatization is a nonsense. The turmoil surrounding this issue has apparently been caused by some articles published by [former Privatization Minister Augustin Maria] Huska, which contain some unfortunate wording. I would like to promise to the citizens, however, that we also have an interest in continuing the privatization process. Nevertheless, we will have to reassess some steps.

[Mesaros] Could you be specific?

[Dolgos] Above all, it concerns the privatization investment funds. The funds are not a bad idea. The problem is that the funds entered the game without legislation controlling their operation. Now we have the Law on Investment Funds and Investment Companies adopted by the Federal Assembly. The law is good. The problem is that the general rules limiting the share any fund may have in a company will go into effect on 1 January 1994. So the entire privatization process will be completed without any limitations imposed on the funds. This should be corrected as soon as possible.

[Mesaros] In the individual enterprises, however, people wonder how it is that in the framework of privatization the quality enterprises with good prospects are designated for direct sale, while those facing bankruptcy are offered to the investment coupon holders. Will you reassess these procedures?

[Dolgos] It is no accident that at the end of its term in office, the government approves direct sales on a grand scale. There have been no such sales in the government sessions so far, and now they are approved in groups of as many as 50 enterprises. I repeat, it is no accident. It also is an indication that there is no concept for the privatization. Similarly, there is no concept for allowing foreign capital to enter the sectors that would be attractive to domestic entrepreneurs. The only answer I can give to the question of the reassessment of direct sales is that we will not deal with this issue in general terms. We certainly will scrutinize those that do not correspond to the current legal status, and in particular the media and financial sectors, in which remarkable things have happened recently.

Jeszensky on Serbia's Attitude to Peace Force

LD1606213592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2051 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (TANJUG)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky said on Tuesday [16 June] he did not understand why the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia regarded as a hostile act his recent proposal for sending an international force to protect the minorities in the Serbian Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo.

"I am surprised that Serbia should see it as a hostile act, because the sending of an international peace force to Yugoslavia was originally proposed by the international community. Since Yugoslavia itself then demanded the same thing, it should only welcome the Hungarian proposal," Jeszensky said in an interview to the MAGYAR HIRLAP daily.

The international community has never offered to send troops to the two Serbian provinces, at least not officially, nor has Yugoslavia ever encouraged such a step, as the Hungarian foreign minister gives to understand.

Hungary has insisted on sending U.N. peace keepers to Vojvodina and Kosovo ever since the proposal for their sending to Yugoslavia was first made, but the United Nations has never accepted it.

Jeszensky's statement was made a day after the Hungarian press carried an interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic refuting allegations of a threat to the ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina.

Jovanovic said that Jeszensky's initiative was not motivated by a desire for peace but by "some other ambitions and purposes".

Ivan Baba Holds Talks With NATO Officials

LD1606205592 Budapest MTI in English 1909 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—Ivan Baba, deputy secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, held talks with Gerhard von Moltke, deputy general secretary of NATO, and with other leaders of the organisation, and members of NATO's political committee, in Brussels on Tuesday [16 June].

Speaking to MTI's correspondent, Baba said discussions included the future of NATO, relations between Hungary and NATO, joint work in the Cooperation Council and the possibilities for more effective cooperation.

Also among the themes discussed were practical issues such as relations, cooperation, joint education, exchange of information, and the organisation of conferences between NATO and the Hungarian Army, and the intensification of relations with the individual NATO countries. Security policy issues were also reviewed.

Talks were also held about the Hungarian proposal that peace-keeping forces should be sent to Kosovo and Vojvodina, under the auspices of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Baba again set forth the Hungarian position, that preventative steps are needed rather than 'diplomacy after the event', particularly in places where the danger can be clearly seen.

The NATO partners understand the problem, and agree in principle, Baba said. However, he added that no reply with binding force could be expected.

The meetings were characterised by a friendly atmosphere, the deputy secretary of state said.

Border Agreement Signed With Croatian Government

LD1606172692 Budapest MTI in English 1621 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—A two-day meeting on Hungarian-Croatian border regulations and on relations between the border authorities of the two countries ended with the signing of a cooperation agreement in the south Hungarian town of Pecs on Tuesday [16 June].

The document was signed by Josko Mority, Croatian deputy minister of the interior, and Brigadier General Balazs Novaky, national commander of the Hungarian Border Guard. The document is the first concrete agreement to regulate protocol along the state border of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Hungary, cooperation needed to ensure smooth border traffic, and the settlement of possible debated issues.

Cooperation extends to steps to be taken in the case of unlawful border crossings, making the border lines visible, the location of border markings, and the mutual reporting obligations of hunters along the border.

Smallholders Faction Accepts Ouster of Chairman

LD1706111692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] The Smallholders 35 faction accepts the decision of Secretary General Bela Nemeth for the suspension of the membership of the party chairman, and, consequently, they no longer recognize Jozsef Torgyan as the chairman.

In their statement, the group of MPs call on the historical group, members of the faction and the executive body set up by the secretary general, to work towards creating party unity.

At the same time, the leadership of the party operating at the headquarters of the Smallholders' Party at Belgrade Rakpart announced that they continue to regard Jozsef Torgyan as leader of the party and do not recognize any kind of executive body.

'Cleansing Process' in Smallholders Party Begins

LD1706110692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] According to the chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, the first sign of democratization in the Smallholders' Party is that General Secretary Bela Nemeth has put an executive committee at the head of the party.

Laszlo Surjan, in a statement given in Debrecen, considered that while Jozsef Torgyan leads the Smallholders and the present anti-democratic Smallholders' constitution is in force, they will suspend the party's membership in the European Democratic Union, grouping Christian democrats. The chairman of the Christian democrats believed that time has to be given for the cleansing process of the Smallholders' Party, which is also participating in the coalition. According to Laszlo Surjan, judging from the events of the past few days this process has already started.

Spokesman Says Walesa May Help Form Government

LD1606182892 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told PAP Tuesday [16 June] that President Lech Walesa may join in the process of forming a new government in Poland.

"The president will most probably have to take steps aimed to ensure the functioning of executive power capable of steering the state's affairs," Drzycimski said when asked about Premier Waldemar Pawlak's protracted efforts to form a new cabinet.

Apart from the Interior and Defence Ministries, the president's spokesman mentioned five other ministries—of Foreign Affairs, Agriculture, Industry, Finance and Economic Affairs, that would be headed by acting ministers in the rank of secretaries or undersecretaries of state. "This would make it possible to calmly formulate the shape of a political coalition supporting the future government", the more so as "the present state of negotiations indicates that this political discussion may continue for some time yet," he stressed.

Drzycimski explained that the president thought that compromise solutions were needed to allow the state to function, and added that new acting ministers would be appointed either by the prime minister or by the coalition "if it proves able to form a government."

He stressed in this connection that the Sejm (lower house) speaker had confirmed Premier Waldemar Pawlak's right to appoint acting ministers even though he considered such interim nominations at key ministries not to be the solution enhancing Poland's international image.

Drzycimski also spoke about the president's decision to ask Acting Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski to explain the role of a secret agent nick-named "Cigarette Lighter" who according to the information possessed by the president had been present for many years in the Polish and emigre political life but whose name was not placed on the lists of agents prepared by the team of Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz.

"The fact proves this was a purely political manipulation," Drzycimski stated, adding that decommunisation and exposure of communist secret police collaborators had to be carried out "but not in this manner".

In reply to further questions Drzycimski said that in the opinion of President Lech Walesa the political situation in Poland after the recent events was put fully under control. "The president asked the Interior and Defence Ministry heads to investigate the whole matter as there are signals that there were attempts—to speak of a coup would be too far fetched—at seizing control over political life in the country, which is inadmissible," Drzycimski declared.

Sejm Speaker, Mazowiecki Meet To Prevent Crisis

LD1606212292 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—Sejm (lower house) Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Democratic Union leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki met Tuesday [16 June] to discuss the present situation in Poland and search for solutions which would prevent a crisis at the top of state institutions.

"We are concordant that in the present situation we cannot speak in favour of holding new parliamentary elections," Mazowiecki told PAP.

"We are convinced that the establishment of a majority government would be desirable," Mazowiecki added, simultaneously pointing to the difference in his own and Chrzanowski's opinion on the question of whether a majority government can be formed under the leadership of Waldemar Pawlak or under some other arrangement.

According to Wieslaw Chrzanowski the talks covered political situation in general and the possibility of a new cabinet to be headed by a representative of the political grouping that was a co-architect of the past regime.

"We both agreed that the participation of such a grouping in the cabinet would be positive," said Wieslaw Chrzanowski and added that a difference of opinion related to Waldemar Pawlak who could not have been accepted by the Christian National Union (ZChN).

"In this situation we decided to seek a solution to this question as the crisis of state authorities have gone very far," the Sejm speaker concluded.

PSL Seeks Government of National Compromise

LD1606225292 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The Polish Peasant Party (PSL) supports the creation of a coalition "which will bring several political groups together under a Peasants Party premier, and create a government of great national compromise," the PSL parliamentary club announced on Tuesday [16 June], following a meeting with Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

At the meeting, which was held in camera, the PSL parliamentary club called on the new prime minister to form a government which will take firm steps to fight the present economic recession and its dangerous social consequences. It noted with approval Pawlak's initiative to broaden the range of political consultations in formulating a political and economic programme for a coalition government.

The PSL parliamentary club firmly rejected insinuations that the appointment of a PSL prime minister amounted to a "recommunization" of the Polish political system, and repeated the party's commitment to respect the rights of all political groupings in Poland.

The club noted the deep unease arising from the release of Interior Ministry files by the Olszewski government, while stating its support for a constructive elaboration of the issues raised, within the limits imposed by the rule of law.

The PSL expressed the hope that the proposed provisional amendments to Poland's Stalinist constitution of 1952 would clarify the balance of powers between president, government and parliament. It called for wider modernization and restructuring in the Polish economy, and for a consistent privatization policy, in accordance with the interests of the broad mass of Polish society.

The PSL supported the development of foreign economic cooperation, particularly in relation to the association agreement with the European Communities, "in a manner which would benefit Poland and its inhabitants." The party also called for moves to resolve the crisis in Polish agriculture, since in its opinion, "security of national food supplies is a priority, and a measure of our national sovereignty."

Parties Make Progress Toward Forming Government

LD1606162192 Warsaw PAP in English 1557 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said during a press conference in Warsaw on Tuesday [16 June] that representatives of the Peasant Party (PSL), parties referred to as the Small Coalition, and the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) reached several preliminary economic agreements on Tuesday thus making political decisions concerning a new cabinet possible on Wednesday.

Waldemar Pawlak said he does not consider a minority cabinet and expressed hope that KPN will be represented in the new government because according to the prime minister this party behaves in a responsible way. The prime minister continues his intention to talk with groups which refuse to give support to his mission. He also supports his idea of dividing influence in the government by sectors.

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak also said that he would not ask the parliament during its nearest meeting for calling off Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz and head of the office of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Wlodarczyk.

Coalition Declares Opposition to Communism

LD1606011392 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—The participants in negotiations over the formation of Poland's new coalition government "unanimously declare themselves in favour of a radical departure from the remaining elements of the communist system, and are opposed to any attempts to divide Polish society on this issue," it was announced on Monday night, in an official communique following the latest round of discussions. The communique also stated that the protocol on agreement and divergencies in economic policy for the new government, to be issued on Tuesday [16 June], would form the basis for further political discussions.

Leszek Moczulski of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) told reporters that the new government, if it is formed, will conduct a firm policy of decommunization.

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak told reporters that the negotiations were proceeding systematically. He did not believe that KPN would seek to withdraw from the negotiations, and announced that a further meeting of coalition partners would be held on Wednesday.

In a related move, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the Democratic Union (UD), said that the UD and its allies hoped to hold discussions with Wieslaw Chrzanowski, leader of the Christian- National Union (ZChN).

Mazowiecki Vows To Fight 'Recommunization'

LD1506035892 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 14 Jun 92

[Text] Bydgoszcz, June 14—Leader of the Democratic Union [UD] Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced fight against recommunisation and counteroffensive of the forces of the old order at a meeting in the central city of Bydgoszcz on Sunday [14 June]. "The Democratic Union will not take part in any government of recommunisation. It is a political slogan, a slogan which increases tension. There will be no recommunisation. We will not allow for the counteroffensive of the forces of the old system," he said. According to Mazowiecki "there will be no stable government in Poland without participating peasant groupings which bear responsibility." Asked about Premier Waldemar Pawlak's mission of forming the government, he said that he was not sure if the mission could succeed as the parties involved were not able to work out a joint stand on economic issues, especially the budget and financial policy. He ruled out any cooperation between the UD and the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). The UD leader critically assessed the recent Solidarity Congress, pointing to negative political emotions. Asked if Lech Walesa betrayed the ideals of Solidarity, Mazowiecki answered "no."

Party Coalition Economists Discuss Deficit

LD1306093892 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Economic experts of the Democratic Union (UD), the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) ending their second round of talks on Thursday [11 June] spoke of a considerable chance of the four parties reaching agreement on the restructuring of enterprises' debts and the elimination of overdue payments.

PSL chief negotiator Deputy Bogdan Lukasiewicz said after today's meeting that there is also a chance of reaching agreement on the level of the budget deficit. A similar view was expressed by Deputy Witold Gadomski of the KLD.

KPN experts denied however that their party may agree on the 5 per cent deficit included in the budget law passed by the Sejm (Lower House) last week. Zbigniew Skorecki and Adam Sandauer told reporters that the KPN is of the opinion that the Sejm should consent to the growth of the deficit.

Experts of the four parties are expected to hold the third round of negotiations on Friday.

Pawlak Discusses Economy, Personnel Changes

LD1206214992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Report on news conference with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and unidentified reporters in Warsaw on 12 June; no video available]

[Text] [Begin Pawlak recording] We are going slowly, but forward at the moment. As far as plans are concerned, the experts who have been working for a few days made significant progress in establishing facts. [end recording]

[Reporter] The prime minister stated that, in economic talks, Polish Peasant Alliance experts presented proposals as how to cure the Polish banking system and partly recover debts of public enterprises that would allow credit for private and public companies that are in good financial condition.

[Begin Pawlak recording] This suggestion was discussed in depth and was accepted by experts of all parties participating in talks. [end recording]

[Reporter] The prime minister said that, in a letter to the International Monetary Fund, he proposed to enter the talks immediately after the formation of the government is complete. A journalist asked the prime minister about his opinion on Jan Olszewski's accusations on the new government carrying out a purge in a few ministries. The prime minister quoted the experts report from the Sejm Chancellery legal office.

[Begin Pawlak recording] According to this opinion, there was nothing unconstitutional in these attempts. In a situation where, for example, in the Council of Ministers my orders were not carried out, I had to make decisive and final decisions to restore order so the office would work properly. [end recording]

[Reporter] Waldemar Pawlak said he did not consider the situation where, in case of the failure of his mission, the Polish Peasant Alliance would enter a coalition of post-Solidarity parties. My mission is still continuing, he said.

Moczulski, Pawlak Discuss Formation of Cabinet

LD1106122392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jun 92

[Text] Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN], has told what sort of government his grouping will support.

[Begin Moczulski recording] We will definitely not support a minority government. A majority must be created in the Sejm. If the parliament will not be capable of creating a majority, which is what we are concerned with, a majority united by a joint program, because that is what is necessary, then there is no other way out, there just have to be new elections. And we assume that these new elections will take place after a shortened election campaign, as time is urgent. [end recording]

To the question of what he will do if the KPN refuses to join the coalition, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak replied:

[Begin Pawlak recording] I think that I have received the mission of creating a government, and I undertook this mission and will continue it until such moment as it will end in success. We are a democratic country, every grouping can undertkae individual decisions, and I would not here dare to limit the freedom of action of the KPN.

Ladies and gentlemen, the passage of time has its effects, groupings and people change their views. As regards Poland, I would say that stranger things than this have taken place here in recent times. [end recording]

UD Faction Leader Questions Pawlak's Chances

LD1106114992 Warsaw PAP in English 0901 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Leader of the faction of the democratic right of the Democratic Union (UD) Aleksander Hall told the Zet radio station Thursday [11 June] that Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak "stood very little chance" to form a new government and "was not ready to become prime minister," as leader of the Centre Accord (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski suggested recently.

Hall said that the chance Pawlak stood to form the new government meant that he would "persuade the remaining peasant groupings, the Christian-National Union (ZChN) and the PC to form a coalition. These parties would thus form a majority but a question can be asked whether this divided camp of solidarity is to be reconciled by the politician from a grouping whose origin is completely different and whose political line has been unstable both in this and the former Sejm."

Hall stressed that he could not accept a situation when the president may become prime minister as this concept would be "incompatible with the constitution." According to hall, this stems from the fact that the president can dissolve parliament. But the prime minister is subordinated to parliament that can dismiss him.

Faction Opposes Pawlak

LD1306113992 Warsaw PAP in English 1729 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—The Political Council of the Democratic Right Faction (FPD) on Thursday [11 June]

"firmly came out against the formation of the Waldemar Pawlak government" as a denial of the idea of a grand coalition.

The council declared in a statement conveyed to PAP that "it will strive for forming a grand coalition government to accomodate all the Solidarity groupings."

According to the statement, only such a government "gives the possibility of creating a pro-reformatory parliamentary majority and partnerlike cooperation with the president, which is a pre-condition for restoring social peace and stability of the state."

Kaczynski Urges Resistance to Pawlak Government

LD1206212892 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 12—Addressing 468 delegates to the second congress of the Center Accord (PC) on Friday [12 June], PC leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski announced to organize "a broad front of resistance" in parliament and out of parliament against the "recommunization government of Waldemar Pawlak."

Kaczynski appealed to post-Solidarity forces supporting the new prime minister to "come to senses" and declared the PC is ready to start talks to avoid "the terrifying danger of Wachowski's and Pawlak's rule." He said his party says "no" to a "government of recommunization, nomenklatura and agents."

Describing the current situation in Poland as a "counteroffensive of communism," Kaczynski charged the presidential camp with protecting the postcommunist set-up and striving for uncontrolled power.

The PC leader said his party is going to develop in center-right direction, tending towards Christian-peasant movements and conservative and conservative-liberal groupings.

Referring to the split within the PC and the activity of the Christian-Democratic Forum, Kaczynski recalled that a group of Forum activists tried to split the party already at its first congress and never stopped to aim at this.

Meanwhile Chairman of the Main Board of the PC Jacek Maziarski said on Friday that the decision to deprive those persons who declared their membership in the Christian-Democratic Forum of their PC membership applies also to former prime minister Jan Olszewski, once a PC member.

Kaczynski's speech to the congress was given an ovation by delegates who also adopted a vote of confidence in the PC authorities without even discussing their reports.

Center Accord Kicks Out Olszewski Faction

LD1206211492 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] The Center Alliance congress, which is meeting in Warsaw, has passed a resolution to exclude from the party's ranks those people who announced their membership of the Christian Democratic Forum [FChD] several weeks ago. They include Andrzej Anusz and Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz.

In the opinion of Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who opened the discussions, democracy in our country is under threat.

[Correspondent Ryszard Jazwinski] Kaczynski said, among other things: We say no to a Pawlak government, the government of new agents. There will be no compromises. We will create a broad opposition movement in parliament and outside parliament. We appeal to all post-Solidarity forces which have still not made a decision to come to their senses.

After those words, the delegates rose from their seats and gave a standing ovation.

Farmers' Solidarity Rejects Talks With Pawlak

LD1206134392 Warsaw PAP in English 1224 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 12—Representatives of Solidarity of Private Farmers walked out on a meeting with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak on Friday after 30-minute talks. They stated that "the union will not be an instrument in political games and will not take part in talks until a new government is formed and a political programme worked out."

Pawlak Comments on Walkout

LD1206153692 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1400 GMT 12 Jun 92

[Excerpts] After a two-hour meeting between Waldemar Pawlak and representatives of farmers' trade unions, the prime minister told journalists that the talk concerned agriculture's most important problems. [passage omitted]

Referring to the walkout by representatives of Farmers' Solidarity, Pawlak said that in a free country nobody could be forced to work, but that he was counting on the responsible attitude of Deputies of the Peasant Alliance.

Olszewski Supporters Comment on Dismissal

AU1306185492 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 8 Jun 92 pp 1, 3

[Michal Monko report: "A Return to the Polish People's Republic"]

[Excerpts] The events that took place at the Sejm on Thursday [4 June] were dramatic. The spectacle was watched from the presidential gallery by the President of the Republic, Lech Walesa, and his colleagues Wachowski and Drzycimski. The trio of dignitaries literally split their sides laughing when they heard deputies from the Christian-National Union, the Center Accord, the Peasant Accord, and "Solidarity" talk about the need to expose agents and about the relevant documents. These are thoughts that some deputies expressed following the event.

Question: What happened in Poland on Thursday night?

Slawomir Siwek, Center Accord deputy: "The darkest possible scenario was realized, and our darkest predictions were proved right. Parliament was forced to its knees, and its power was undermined. The influence of the presidential camp has grown inordinately. We are well on the way to questioning our democratic system, which is still weak. People should know and realize that we are dealing with a great mass of energy that is being displayed by the communist camp. Quite simply, they want to regain power. They are using a setup that—two years ago at the roundtable—only granted the 'Solidarity' side partial power. At that time it was said: 'We are only giving you a lease to govern for two years.' That period has ended precisely at this time, and during it, they retained the main centers of state power: the military, the police force, finance, and information. When the 'Solidarity' steamroller of change in the state reached those very centers, they launched a rapid, resolute, and, it transpired, effective counteroffensive. That is what happened on that night." [passage omitted]

Question: What happened in the Sejm from Thursday through Saturday?

Krzysztof Putra, Center Accord deputy: "Prime Minister Pawlak was appointed solely to take over the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the military, and television! That is reminiscent of something. I am not surprised at the communists. That is their way of doing things. I am surprised at President Walesa, because he led 'Solidarity,' and today he has turned against his own movement and ideals in which he appeared to believe. I find that sad, and it frightens people."

Question: Did we go to bed in the Third Republic on Thursday and wake up in the People's Republic of Poland on Friday?

Roman Wierzbicki, Peasant Accord and chairman of Rural Solidarity: "Perhaps not in the People's Republic of Poland yet, but on the road leading to it. What happened on that tragic night shows that a march in that direction is still in progress. I hope that it will be interrupted. Society, indeed the nation, will not allow it. In addition, I think that those who voted against the exposure of agents, voted the way that President Walesa wanted them—they have now thought things over and think differently. I expect great opposition to Pawlak and to the clear domination being exercised by the president."

Question] Watching the debate in the Sejm that night, one could have gotten the impression that there was only point to it: How to prevent the exposure of agents.

Wierzbicki: The haste with which the change of government was effected—it was to all intents and purposes a coup—shows that the object was to pre-empt Macierewicz. The Sejm disregarded its own resolution on the files and agents."

Question: Will the farmers allow themselves to be led by the postcommunists?

Wierzbicki: "In no way. They have their common sense and knowledge. That lesson that was learned over 45 years has not been wasted. I have received many calls expressing support for former Prime Minister Olszewski." [passage omitted]

Officials Claim Military Units Were on Alert

AU1606073592 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13-14 Jun 92 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "The Army on the Day of the Files"]

[Text] On 4 June, the day on which Interior Minister Macierewicz revealed to the Sejm the files on secret police collaborators, Piotr Naimski, head of the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP], ordered Colonel Jozef Pecko, commander of the Vistula Units of the Interior Ministry, to place these units on combat readiness and protect the Radio and Television Committee. This was reported by Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski at a news conference Friday [12 June]. Zbigniew Romaszewski, head of the Radio and Television Committee, confirmed to GAZETA that Naimski had phoned him that day and told him "I expect disturbances."

Colonel Pecko claims that Naimski summoned him to the Interior Ministry at 1030 on 4 June and received him in Minister Macierewicz's office. He then told him to place the units on higher combat readiness immediately. Pecko tried to tell Naimski that only the minister himself, Macierewicz, can issue such an order, but Naimski insisted that "he is authorized to issue this type of order for immediate execution."

"I tried to explain exactly what it means to place units on higher combat readiness, but all I got was the reply 'please execute'," wrote Pecko in a report that was presented at Milczanowski's news conference.

Naimski ordered Pecko to assign a group of soldiers to guard the Radio and Television Committee, where Prime Minister Olszewski was delivering a speech.

At around 1100, Pecko summoned his deputies. They agreed that "Naimski does not know what higher combat readiness means in the Army." They decided that they would merely "keep the units mobilized" in the Warsaw area.

At 1400 Pecko sent ciphered messages to the commanders of eight Vistula units telling them to select appropriate "forces and resources." He canceled these messages the following day, and never did send any soldiers to the Radio and Television Committee.

We have heard from unofficial sources that documents prepared by the Interior Ministry Study and Analysis department were meant to be distributed all over the country on the night of 3-4 June, but the 15 drivers, who

were meant to deliver secret documents to 14 UOP regional branches, were ordered to remain inside the Ministry.

Antoni Macierewicz told PAP that Milczanowski's information is untrue, and Naimski has said that he merely told Colonel Pecko to be ready to deploy his forces to the Radio and Television Committee if Chairman Romaszewski requested protection. "But the chairman never did request it, so the matter was closed," said Naimski.

Milczanowski did not wish to comment on the information he had given. Al he said was he would like Macierewicz and Naimski to explain why the Vistula Units should be placed on increased combat readiness. "I think the entire issue is going to have consequences, and will require closer investigation," he said.

Zbigniew Romaszewski, who was chairman of the Radio and Television Committee until 4 June, confirmed over the phone yesterday that there had been plans to send the Army to the television studios. "We considered the possibility of protection for the Radio and Television Committee because our own protection is not too good and the situation was dangerous." Asked how dangerous, Romaszewski explained: "UOP chief Piotr Naimski phoned me and asked 'How well are the radio and television buildings protected? I expect disturbances.' I was rather busy, so I asked Deputy Chairman Miroslaw Hamera to deal with the matter. In the end, I made no decision about calling in the Army."

Here is the complete text of a statement by Colonel Jozef Pecko, commander of the Vistula Military Units, who was supposed to execute Naimski's order:

"Mr. Minister, may I inform you that on 4 June 1992, at 1030, I received a telephoned instruction from Minister Macierewicz's secretariat to report to the Minister immediately. The instruction was delivered by the minister's secretary. At 1050 I reported to Minister Macierewicz's office in person. However, the minister was not there, only Piotr Naimski, chief of the UOP.

"Mr Naimski told me he was standing in for Minister Macierewicz, on whose behalf he ordered me to place the Vistula Units of the Interior Ministry on increased combat readiness. He said this should be carried out immediately.

"When I said that it is the task of my supervisor, the interior minister, to issue such orders, the UOP chief said he was authorized to issue such orders for immediate execution.

"I attempted to explain what it means to place troops on increased combat readiness, but the reply was final: 'Please execute'."

"The second task was to assign a suitable number of soldiers to protect the Radio and Television Committee. In this connection, the UOP chief told me to get in touch with Mr. Hamera, deputy chief of the Committee, who would send over the commander of the Industrial Guard in order to discuss organizing the protection of the Radio and Television Committee building.

"When I reached my office at the Vistula Military Units, I received a phone call from Mr. Hamera, who, on behalf of Mr. Naimski, told me he was sending over the commander of the industrial guard to discuss increased protection for Radio and Television Committee facilities in Warsaw. These details were finally agreed on 4 June 1992 at about 1400. About 50 soldiers and officers from the Military Police of the Vistula Units was assigned to this task.

"I asked the commander of the Industrial Guard, who was present in my office, whether it was justified to deploy such a reinforcement, which might be viewed askance by society and the media. I asked that Mr. Romaszewski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, make the final decision, and said that I would not execute such an order without a decision from him. In the end I did not receive any such decision from Mr. Romaszewski,and the soldiers remained in their barracks.

"I was offered no explanation of why the Radio and Television Committee should have increased protection and why military units should be placed on increased combat readiness. From what Mr. Hamera said, I had the impression that the UOP chief had told him to carry out this task.

"My stay at Minister Macierewicz's office with Mr. Naimski was brief, about 3-4 minutes.

"When I returned to my own office, at about 1100, I summoned my deputies and briefed them on the task I had received from Mr. Naimski. I said Mr. Naimski does not know what it means to introduce increased combat readiness in the Army and that in the current sociopolitical situation (Sejm session), the execution of such an order could be viewed as a provocation with unforeseeable consequences. My deputies agreed with me. Therefore I reached the following decisions:

"1. I would not place the Vistula Units on increased combat readiness.

"2. I would merely maintain these units on mobile status in Warsaw and decide which forces and resources should be deployed.

"I sent a ciphered message to the Military Units on this matter. I subsequently revoked the above decisions in a second ciphered message on 5 June 1992 at 0900. This I did on my own initiative, without consulting my superiors, because I considered that to be harmful and irrelevant.

"The duty operations officer of the Vistula Units told me that on the night of 4-5 June, journalists had phoned him to ask whether it was true that the Vistula Units had been placed on increased combat readiness. He said no.

"I inform you, Mr. Minister, that no Vistula Unit soldier was detailed for any task. They were all in barracks. Despite Mr. Naimski's order to do so, I did not place the

Vistula Units on increased combat readiness. I did not inform Minister Macierewicz and UOP Chief Mr. Piotr Naimski of my decision, because I feared further harmful orders in this matter.

"Mr. Minister, I will present a separate report on 7 June 1992 on the extent of the action connected with the increased combat readiness of the Vistula Units."

Colonel Jozef Pecko.

Here is the text of a ciphered message which Colonel Jozef Pecko, commander of the Vistula Units, sent to the commander of the First Motorized Brigade, commander of the First Protection Regiment, commander of the Third Motorized Regiment, commander of the Ninth Independent Protection and Service Regiment, commander of the 103d Air Squadron, commander of the 112th Air Squadron, commander of the Communications Regiment, and commander of the Independent Military Police Unit:

"In pursuance of the Interior Minister's decision, I hereby place the Vistula Units of the Interior Ministry on increased readiness for the deployment of Unit forces and resources as of 4 June 1992, 1400, until further notice. In this connection, I order the following:

"1. Increased alertness in protecting Unit facilities and other facilities in the care of the Units;

"2. That a maximum number of soldiers be kept in barracks, and that training sessions be organized at exercise yards belonging to the barracks and inside the barracks themselves;

"3. A readiness to supply reinforcements for the First Motorized Brigade and First Mechanized Infantry Brigade;

"4. That the 103d Air Squadron maintain Bel-206 and Mig-8 helicopters at number 2 alert status;

"5. That the Communications Regiment be ready to reinforce the communications system in the required spheres;

"6. The organization of operational teams inside military commands, in order to ensure continued command over eventual operations 24 hours a day;

"7. The drafting of regular reports on the situation inside units and protected facilities as of 1600 hours, or, in the case of important events, immediately."

Antoni Macierewicz said it is not true that he instructed Naimski to place Interior Ministry units on increased combat readiness.

Milczanowski Accuses Predecessor of Provocation

LD1606125392 Warsaw PAP in English 0004 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—Antoni Macierewicz, Polish Interior Minister in the government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, was accused by his successor Andrzej Milczanowski of "a provocative act designed to cause a sensation and destabilise the work of the ministry" when he made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the building of the Interior Ministry in Warsaw on Monday [16 June].

After the incident, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak ordered Macierewicz to remain at his permanent address at the disposition of the prime minister. Macierewicz is reported to have considered this as an imposition of house arrest.

In a letter to Milczanowski, President Lech Walesa called for a start to be made in exposing the role of the Secret Service agent known by the code-name "Cigarette-Lighter."

Milczewski made known part of President Walesa's letter to the Sejm commission investigating the implementation of the Sejm (Lower House) resolution on the unmasking of suspected agents of Poland's former Security Services. However, the commission's Deputy Chairman Wladyslaw Serafin said that it had been freely decided not to ask for that particular material to be put before the commission.

President Walesa also called for Prosecutor-General Zbigniew Dyka to take immediate measures to determine the circumstances, and the persons responsible, in connection with the release of information from the Interior Ministry.

Former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski failed on Monday to appear before the Sejm commission following a mix-up over the date of the hearing, committee Chairman Jerzy Ciemniewski announced on Monday. He will now appear before the committee on Friday.

Antoni Macierewicz is to appear before the committee on Wednesday.

Investigation of Suspected Collaborators Delayed

LD1606164792 Warsaw PAP in English 0743 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—The Sejm (lower house) extraordinary commission investigating the implementation of the Sejm resolution regarding the unmasking of suspected collaborators of Poland's former security services is unlikely to complete its work by June 20, as envisaged at the time of the resolution, the chairman Jerzy Ciemniewski announced on Monday [16 June], following a 12-hour session of the commission.

At Monday's session, evidence was taken from officers of the State Protection Office (UOP). According to Tomasz Tywonek, former press spokesman for the Interior Ministry, one of the UOP officers had access to secret material from the Interior Ministry. "The information on the removal of files cannot be confirmed," Ciemniewski said.

On Tuesday the commission is to inspect Interior Ministry material on alleged secret service collaborators.

However, the commission will not seek to examine material relating to the agent known by the code-name "cigarette-lighter."

Macierewicz Denies Charges on Army Alert

LD1306182492 Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz, who has been on leave since the fall of the Olszewski government, denies allegations that he had ordered combat alert in the Warsaw Army Brigade on June 4.

He admits, however, that he deployed additional sentries around the Interior Ministry premises on that day because large numbers of people, mainly members of parliament, were coming into and going out of the ministry building after checking their own files.

Macierewicz compared mass media behaviour after his disclosing secret police files to that on December 13, 1981 (the day when martial law was imposed in Poland by General Wojciech Jaruzelski). He said that in 1981 media had blamed the opposition for trying to take over power and "today attempts are made to do the same," Macierewicz told the local Radio Zet on Saturday [13 June].

Antoni Macierewicz called the media campaign an attempt to "stamp out and kill the truth which began to be disclosed." He said he had only disclosed archives, lists of names appearing in the Interior Ministry archives, not the secret agents' files. "These materials should be verified by a commission chaired by head of the Supreme Court Adam Strzembosz," he said.

Meanwhile, former vice chairman of the Polish radio and TV Miroslaw Hamera denied having received any orders from State Protection Office chief Piotr Naimski on June 4 to send troops to reinforce the TV and radio protection.

Interior Minister Condemns Sejm Resolution

LD1606185492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 13 Jun 92

[Text] Internal Affairs Minister Antoni Macierewicz, who is presently on leave, today described the situation which arose after his implementation of the Sejm's vetting resolution as an attempt to introduce manually controlled terror and hysteria. What is happening in the mass media is reminiscent of an attempt to repeat 13 December 1981 [the introduction of martial law by Jaruzelski], Antoni Macierewicz told Radio Zet.

He recalled that at that time, the opposition was accused of attempting an armed takeover of power and an attempt was being made to return to that today. Macierewicz stated that this is an attempt to kill the truth, which is being revealed. He added that if today were 4 June, he would act in the same way as was done then.

Olszewski to Testify Before Sejm Board 17 Jun

LD1506160392 Warsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—Former prime minister Jan Olszewski has been summoned to appear on Wednesday, June 17 before parliamentary commission conducting an inquiry into the implementation of the Sejm resolution on exposure of former secret police collaborators, the commission's deputy chairman Wladyslaw Serafin said Monday.

Serafin also explained that Jan Olszewski failed to appear before the commission today, as was originally planned, due to an error made by a typist in the date stated in the summons.

Olszewski Denounces Dismissal of Ministers

LD1106203992 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jun 92

[No video available]

[Text] Jan Olszewski, at the first press conference given by him after his recall from the post of prime minister, has called the personnel changes carried out in the state administration over the last few days a purge. The former prime minister likened that which has taken place to the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified reporter] In the view of Jan Olszewski, no Solidarity government has applied these sorts of methods in relation to communist rule.

[Olszewski] I value Mr.Pawlak as a promising politician, and I am really surprised at the style in which the taking over, the extra-constitutional taking over in my conviction, of a series of ministries is taking place. I have in mind above all the Ministry of Internal Affairs and also the Office of the Council of Ministers.

[Reporter] According to Jan Olszewski, the claims of Bronislaw Geremek that the activities of the government had the character of an attempted coup d'etat are an insinuation. The former prime minister wants Professor Geremek to clarify in the Sejm exactly what he means.

[Olszewski] I am fully in solidarity with the statement today by the president, in which, as I read the report from his press conference, he said that it is appropriate, as regards the matter of a possible coup d'etat or an attempt at a coup d'etat... it is precisely as follows: Address the Sejm for the appointment of a commission for the examination of whether there was an attempt in Poland to carry out a coup d'etat. I fully support this initiative.

[Reporter] Jan Olszewski said that he did not know of the existence of a personnel file on the president and thus could not blackmail him. In his opinion, a unification of the committees movement of Jan Parys with, as he put it, a front of independence forces ought to take place in the near future. [end recording]

Solidarity Critical of Walesa's Gdansk Speech

LD1506220592 Warsaw PAP in English 2103 GMT 15 Jun 92

[Text] Gdansk, June 15—Polish President Lech Walesa is responsible for "everything which is happening today in Poland," wrote Ewa Spychalska, head of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), in a letter to the president, Walesas press office announced on Monday [15 June].

Spychalska, commenting on Walesa's weekend address in Gdansk to delegates at the 4th national congress of the "Solidarity" Trade Union, said that she reacted with great reserve and disapproval to his address at the congress.

Further negative reactions to the "Solidarity" congress came from the workplace committee at the Gdansk shipyards, the cradle in August 1980 of the "Solidarity" movement.

In a statement issued on Monday, the committee accused delegates at the congress of having sent "a signal to thousands of workers that their interests were being manipulated by unsuccessful politicians." The delegates at the congress had failed to address the problem of the ruin of the Polish economy. This was a cynical betrayal of the ideals of August 1980, and a misuse of the powers entrusted to the delegates by their electorate.

The shipyard committee also accused the congress of ignoring the wishes of "Solidarity" members who, in mass demonstrations throughout Poland, had protested against the methods of activity of the state administration and the parliament.

Krzaklewski Reelected Chairman of Solidarity

LD1206193692 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jun 92

[No video available]

[Excerpt] Marian Krzaklewski has been elected chairman of Solidarity. A total of 214 participants in the Solidarity Congress in Gdansk voted for him. His opponent in the election Maciej Jankowski received 137 votes. [passage omitted]

Senate Approves 1992 Budget Law Without Changes

LD1606195392 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—Despite various reservations and doubts expressed during its debate the Senate approved Tuesday [16 June] the Budget Law for 1992 in the form passed by the Sejm (lower house) on last June 5, and adopted without introducing any changes the assumptions of the monetary policy for the current year.

The Senate also accepted the amended tax law and the law on pensions without proposing to introduce any changes. The senators came out, however, in favour of amending the law on the right to reduced travel fairs, proposing to extend this right not only to secondary school teachers but also to university lecturers.

Following a motion from Independent Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski the Senate decided to meet again on Wednesday, June 17, to examine the matter of the Sejm resolution on disclosure of former secret service agents.

Pawlak Refinances Agricultural Debt Fund

LD1106200192 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 11 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 11—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak signed a cabinet ordinance of May 12 on the principles of operation and the sources of financing of the fund for the restructuring of and clearing of debts from agriculture, according to the Government Press Office on Thursday.

The fund will finance the modernisation of farms, the development of production technology, food processing and agricultural services.

Part of the fund will be earmarked for helping farmers to repay debts.

Russian-Polish Team Check Ecological Damage

LD0906212892 Warsaw PAP in English 1559 GMT 9 Jun 92

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—The first joint Polish-Russian inspection to discover the ecological damage caused in the areas occupied by the former Soviet Army began work Tuesday.

The Polish side has already made an estimate of 2.8 trillion złotys (some 200 million dollars) worth of damage, according to Zbigniew Kamienski at the State Inspectorate for Environment Protection.

Campeanu Will Support Anti-Iliescu Candidate

AU1606123392 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 6 Jun 92 pp 1, 5

[Part two of interview with Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, by Florin Radulescu-Botica; place and date not given: "It Is Easy Now To Return to Romania and Holler (Like in Paris) That there Is No Democracy!"]

[Excerpts] [Botica] Mr. Campeanu, what does the National Liberal Party [PNL] and yourself personally fear about the coming elections?

[Campeanu] I and we, the liberals, do not fear anything. To qualify this statement, I would say that the only thing I am afraid of is that public opinion might be misled, since it is still vulnerable to manipulations. This is more of a reservation, rather than a fear per se.

[Botica] Apropos the liberal doctrine: Might not the splits that have also occurred in your party make it harder for certain categories of the electorate to swallow that doctrine?

[Campeanu] First of all, I would like to clarify a point: The term "split" is not the right one. The current "splintering" of the Cerveni group is as minor as the departure, two years ago, of the Young Wing, which meant nothing for the PNL. The proof is that they [Cerveni's group] realized their impotence and appealed to certain phantoms from the [emigre] circles in Paris. [passage omitted] I refute the cheekiness and ambition of those who keep insisting that they must teach us all sorts of lessons! They should have come home when that was a risky thing to do. Now, it is easy to return to Romania and holler (like in Paris) that there is no democracy here and that communism persists! What happens is that they come here and enjoy all the freedoms offered by a democratic regime! [passage omitted]

[Botica] I know that you do not like to make predictions, but I have no choice and must ask you these questions, since the elections are just round the corner. Do you think we will again have a ruling party? Second, who, in your opinion, is the top candidate in the presidential race?

[Campeanu] I do not believe that a future government will ever again represent a majority party—we will have a coalition cabinet. As a matter of fact, there is no longer room in tomorrow's Romania for a majority party.

Regarding the president, we will have to find a personality capable of running against Mr. Ion Iliescu. We will support a candidate capable of competing with him in this race. The candidatures announced thus far cannot challenge Mr. Iliescu's position. We must find a true counter candidate. [passage omitted]

National Liberal Party To Run on Separate Lists

AU1606201792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/6/1992—The electoral strategy of the National Liberal Party [PNL] in the perspective of this year's general elections was one of the subjects approached during the weekly news conference held in Bucharest on Tuesday, June 16.

Deputy Nae Bedros announced that PNL would enter the legislative elections on separate lists under the electoral sign "Arrow." He excluded any pre-electoral alliance of that political formation, at least for the time being, but he admitted—on the other hand—the possibility of post-electoral alliance variants.

Specification was made that PNL would designate its own candidate to the presidency who, according to Deputy Nae Bedros' opinion, "should be a strong personality, able to confront the current president." Mr. Bedros announced that the Bucharest organization of PNL decided to propose Radu Campeanu, PNL president, as their candidate to the presidency. The other organizations are to make their proposals.

Roman Sees Advantage in Postponement of Elections

AU1606131892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0945 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/6/1992—"Postponement of the elections till autumn could be favourable for us" said—in an ample interview published in the latest issue of weekly "TINERAMA"—Petre Roman, president of the National Salvation Front (FSN), which campaigned energetically for their organisation during July, going as far as to accept, for the sake of an immediate poll, the compromise of holding simultaneous legislative and presidential elections, upheld by the opposing dissident Democratic National Salvation Front.

Elections could have been organised sooner if they had been "actually" wanted by the country's president, the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, who "still hold powers far beyond their constitutional prerogatives."

The FSN leader opines that postponing the elections implies the danger of "not taking the complete and immediate economic measures that will stop the economic and social degradation." A government resulting from elections could have "accepted a bigger budget deficit in exchange of a greater real social protection."

The ex-premier "would be glad" if his party managed to keep, after the legislative elections, the about 30 percent of the electorate's votes it claims to have obtained in the local elections in February this year. In this situation the FSN will have to strike electoral alliances, on the basis of a "minimal agreement upon the immediate and long-term economic measures." "Unfortunately we are not

now in the situation of knowing clearly whom we will talk to," says Petre Roman, expressing "great doubts as to the democratic quality" of some of the parties represented in parliament.

Accepting the hypothesis that for the next four years he would lead the newly elected government, the premier of the first three post-revolutionary governments thinks the new cabinet will have to check "the worsening tendencies towards inflation, unemployment and degradation of the living conditions of important social categories," to obtain "the signs of a modern and profitable activity" in agriculture, the food industry, trade and services and foreign investments in infrastructure that "lie today at our doors, blocked by administrative inertia, if not by dirty interests."

Sketching a sort of dummy-portrait of the future president desired by the FSN, which has announced it would have its own candidate but has not yet nominated him, Petre Roman appreciates he must "be able to stay above political parties and passions and have the strength not to desire power for himself, a fact not yet confirmed in the post-revolution practice, and be able to reconciliate the memory of communist oppression with today's evolution of the country."

PAC's Manolescu Opposes CD-FSN Coalition

AU1506095792 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 10 Jun 92 p 1

["Rep"-signed report on a news conference given by Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, in Timisoara on 9 June]

[Excerpts] On 9 Jun, in the elegant ceremonial hall of the Scientists Club in Timisoara (where their Royal Highnesses Princesses Margareta and Sofia also stayed during their visit to Timisoara in December 1991), Mr. Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] organized a news conference. Although he was accompanied by Messrs. Stelian Tanase, Dan Grigore, Cornel Nistorescu and his U.S. guests Dorin Tudoran and Vladimir Tismaneanu, most of the questions were addressed to the PAC leader.

[Correspondent] Last February, when you were in Paris for the Sorbonne Forum, why did you not answer Mr. Paleologu's invitation to pay a visit to His Majesty King Mihai I at Versoix?

[Manolescu] Mr. Paleologu did not extend an official invitation to me.

[Correspondent] Some 3 or 4 weeks ago, when you visited Suceava, you said that you "do not understand why the Romanians have to go to Chisinau to look for a president." How do you correlate this attitude with the Romanians' desire for reunification?

[Manolescu] So far, there has been no reunification, and meanwhile there is a border along the Prut River. I find it exaggerated to look for a presidential candidate among the Romanians beyond the border [reference to former Moldovan Prime Minister Mircea Druc's announced candidature for Romania's presidency].

A few moments before, Mr. Manolescu told a journalist that no difference should be made between the Romanians in Romania and those in the diaspora. Therefore....

[Correspondent] What chances do you give yourself if you were are appointed the Democratic Convention's [CD] candidate for presidency?

[Manolescu] Very good ones. [passage omitted]

Mr. N. Manolescu rejected accusations that he has affinities with the republican socialists in France and said he does not agree with a possible CD-FSN Roman coalition. Asked which one of the presidential counter candidates within the CD he fears most, the PAC leader said that he is "not afraid of anyone of them." Mr. Manolescu refused to give a clear answer to the question whether he would support another CD personality who might run for the presidency, saying that "the vote is secret, anyhow.

UN Secretary General Submits Report on Situation

LD1606081692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0234 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] United Nations, June 16 (TANJUG)—So far, only limited progress has been made in carrying efforts out for ending the conflict in the former Yugoslavia's central Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Ghali said Monday [15 June] evening.

In his latest report on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Butrus Ghali voices hope anyway that the international community would stay resolute in its intentions to put the fighting under control and start negotiations on a lasting peaceful settlement of the conflict there.

In his report made ready for the Security Council, Butrus Ghali for the first time, describing goings-on in Bosnia-Hercegovina, practically made Croatia's to blame equal to his earlier finding of Serbia to blame for stirring the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina up.

On May 30, the Security Council took decision on imposing sharp economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. against Serbia and Montenegro, proclaiming them the first to blame for tragic developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic Letter to UN Calls for Action

LD1606195192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1911 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Excerpt] United Nations, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—The UN Security Council president received today a letter from Alija Izetbegovic, president of the rump Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. The letter demands that this UN body, which is charged with preserving world peace and security, adopt a new resolution which "would envisage sanctions and other measures aimed at immediate Yugoslav National Army [JNA] withdrawal from the terriory of Bosnia-Hercegovina." Izetbegovic says in the letter that there are 80,000 JNA troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who are continuing to bomb Sarajevo and destroy buildings.

Izetbegovic's letter follows a similar letter which Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Affairs Minister Haris Silajdzic handed in person to the UN Security Council president yesterday, urging military intervention against Bosnian Serbs. At a press conference in the UN Headquarters, Silajdzic also urged the deployment of NATO forces stationed in Europe, which would pound Serb positions around Sarajevo from the air, and thus tip the wheel of fortune towards the "legal" Bosnia-Hercegovina government. [passage omitted]

Military Pact To 'Legalize' Croatian Army Presence

LD1606166392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1547 GMT 16 Jun 92

[By Dusan Miklja]

[Text] Belgrade, June 16 (TANJUG)—The announced military alliance between two ex-Yugoslav Republics, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, against the Bosnia Serbs, aims to legalize the months-long presence of regular Croatian Army units in Bosnia and their involvement in the war in this republic.

Croatian Vice-President Zdravko Tomac on Monday [15 June] told British News Agency REUTERS that Bosnia's Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had discussed plans to form a military alliance against the Bosnia Serbs, who make up one third of the republic's 4.3 million population.

Muslims and Croats, who account for 44 and 17 percent of Bosnian population respectively, have formed a coalition against the local Serbs, who refuse to be reduced to the status of a national minority in an independent, unitarian and Islamic Bosnia.

Regular Croatian troops have already occupied large parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina with Izetbegovic's tacit approval, but the U.N. Security Council has invoked rigid sanctions against the newly-formed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro, blaming it for the Bosnian conflict and for helping the Serbs there.

The military pact between Croatia and Bosnia will also have anthological value as this is the first time in modern history that the government of one country will form an alliance with the government of another against a part of its own population of whom it is supposed to take care.

Describing the announced pact as the introduction into a possible confederation of the two republics, Croatian officials are saying that once peace is established, Bosnia should be organized on the principle of the equality of its three constituent peoples—Muslims, Croats and Serbs.

However, it seems that after the implementation of the Croat-Bosnian agreement against the Bosnia Serbs, one of the constituent peoples, the Serbs, will cease to exist.

A Croat-Bosnian confederation would comprise territories which were included in the quisling independent state of Croatia which is responsible for the massacre of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies in World War Two.

Bosnia, along with Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia, has seceded from Yugoslavia and won international recognition contrary to its own constitution which provides that no vital decisions on the republic's future could be made without consent of all three constituent peoples—Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

President Izetbegovic Assesses Pact With Croatia

AU1606194492 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 June 92

[Zdenko Vranjes report on news conference by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, in Sarajevo on 16 June—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Vranjes] The appearance of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, in the International Press Center today aroused great interest among domestic and foreign journalists. Izetbegovic first summarized the content of yesterday's joint statement with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, which consists of five points:

First, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia have mutually recognized each other and must establish diplomatic relations as soon as possible. Izetbegovic said that this issue was initiated in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today and that the procedure (?for establishment) of diplomatic relations is underway.

Second, gratitude was expressed to Croatia in the statement [words indistinct] refugees and humanitarian aid that Croatia extended to us.

Third, the stand of the (?statement referred) to military cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. It is said in the statement that the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia will cooperate in the struggle against the common enemy and concluded that Croatia offered and will continue to offer military assistance to the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Four, an opinion was put forward that the future internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina be established (?after the war) in a democratic way, and that a solution that would suit all three ethnic communities of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be found.

Five, in areas where Bosnia-Hercegovina does not have diplomatic representatives it will be represented by the diplomatic representatives of Croatia, and vice versa.

A question by the WASHINGTON POST correspondent was interesting, namely, whether Croatia is considered an aggressor in Bosnia-Hercegovina:

[Izetbegovic] So far, no. Some Croatian forces are obviously present in eastern Hercegovina, (?around Stolac) to be precise, but they are there merely to pursue the aggressor. We will officially regulate these relations as soon as possible. Croatia explicitly recognizes the integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and this has been reasserted and reaffirmed in point one of the aforementioned statement.

[Vranjes] Izetbegovic reaffirmed that the Croatian Council of Defense recognizes the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina armed forces, that the Croatian Council of Defense is part of the Bosnia-Hercegovina armed forces and that any lack of coordination between the Croatian Council of Defense and the Territorial Defense comes as a result of broken lines and spontaneity in emergence of the resistance against the aggressor. All breakdowns in coordination will be resolved once the armed forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina are formed, which is an ongoing process.

Occasionally, we remind [words indistinct] on continued presence of the Yugoslav army on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This must be done because of the Belgrade propaganda which claims that the army withdrew from Bosnia-Hercegovina and that a sort of internal Serbian army exists within Bosnia-Hercegovina by which they wish to alarm the world community and convince it that the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina are of an internal nature.

Izetbegovic also commented on the letter he sent yesterday to the UN Security Council.

Regarding the possible continuation of the talks under the patronage of the EC and the scheduled arrival of Lord Carrington and Mr. Cutileiro and regarding the citizens' option for Bosnia-Hercegovina's organization, Izetbegovic said the following:

[Izetbegovic] If Mr. Carrington and Mr. Cutileiro arrive here, they shall be received with due attention and respect. However, they will also be told that this is not the Bosnia- Hercegovina it was when they left last time. Nothing in Bosnia- Hercegovina is as it used to be three months ago. Towns have been destroyed, villages depopulated, civilians killed, and many illusions have vanished. Therefore, the basis for the talks is not the same, (?because) Bosnia-Hercegovina is no longer the same. I hope that Mr. Carrington and Mr. Cutileiro will understand this. Since pictures speak louder than words, I will ask them to take a stroll through the town. [passage indistinct]

[Indistinct question by unidentified journalist]

[Izetbegovic] I believe that [words indistinct]. We started the talks with one political party, but we cannot continue them with the criminals.

[Indistinct question by unidentified journalist, in English]

[Izetbegovic] I would like to tell you that I personally still believe in the citizens' option, but as far as I am concerned personally, and if you want my opinion, I do not know for how long. This partially depends on the amount of (?strength) that the Serbian people [words indistinct] in themselves to dissociate themselves from these crimes. I still believe that the Serbian people have that strength, but I think that the survival of the citizens' option definitely depends on whether the Serbian people will find the strength in themselves to distance themselves from [words indistinct]. In other words, to what degree the citizens' consciousness will prevail among the Serbian people despite all [words indistinct].

[Vranjes] Numerous Serbs are (?neither loyal) to the regime, the authorities, but to their its [word indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina. I sometimes understand this but I do not approve of it. Only the Serbian people can defeat the evil (?among) themselves, and the same, of course, goes for the Croatian and Muslim people, Izetbegovic said. We blame neither the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina nor the Serbian people in Serbia for the aggression, but the regime of [Serbian President]

Milosevic in Serbia and [words indistinct] in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said. The Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not threatened by the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities and the defenders of the state. The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and the aggressor are causing the greatest harm to the Serbian people.

Izetbegovic reaffirmed that the citizens of Serbian nationality are present in the Presidency, government, and Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in television and on the radio, and in all institutions and [word indistinct]. Europe will not find it hard to understand that it is not possible to make decisions without two basic democratic elements—an assembly and a referendum. Therefore, the problem of organizing Bosnia-Hercegovina should be left for peaceful times when an assembly and referendum will be possible. It is Europe's turn to help Bosnia-Hercegovina to stop the aggression on this state.

[Word indistinct] will try to explain that Karadzic's intention is to create three separate religious states in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Orthodox, Catholic, and Islamic—but we want a normal, European type of state. When I say a citizens' state, I refer to a normal European state, Izetbegovic emphasized. You know that the SDS did not win the elections by [word indistinct] and aggression, depopulation of villages, destruction of towns and creation of orthodox state in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was promising completely different things. Also, the SDS got involved in terrorism. This party is not formally prohibited in Bosnia-Hercegovina but it has put itself outside the law. Many SDS members must face the court and account for unprecedented crimes [passage indistinct]

As regards Mostar, it is either liberated or will be soon. [words indistinct] fighters have done all this. The people in the concentration camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina are in the saddest situation, Izetbegovic said. We will not surrender and we will not negotiate under humiliating conditions. We will defend until the aggressor capitulates and we will fight for the liberation of these people and return all refugees to their homes. [passage indistinct] [passage omitted]

Sarajevo Residents Reported 'Munching Grass'

AU1706113692 Paris AFP in English
1038 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Report by David Botbol]

[Text] Sarajevo, June 17 (AFP)—The 35,000 residents of Dobrinja, an isolated dormitory suburb of the Bosnian capital, have only about a week's food supplies left.

They have been cut off from the rest of the city by Serb forces encamped at the nearby airport. The district has seen serious ceasefire violations since Monday [15 June]. Two foreign news photographers were badly wounded there on Tuesday when a Serbian tank opened fire.

The Serbs consider the sector as part of their territory and have spared it from major damage so far. But residents fear a big attack before the airport is eventually evacuated under U.N. peace plans.

French freelance journalist Thierry Ravalet and New Zealand photographer Andrew Reed got into Dobrinja secretly this week. On returning to central Sarajevo, they gave a grim report about the looming disaster.

There was a stench of rotting in the air. The sole surgeon, a Palestinian operating in a makeshift clinic, was unable to give proper treatment to the badly wounded. He had only local anaesthetics at his disposal.

Residents were making do with one frugal meal a day. They were burning furniture and floorboards to cook their dishes of pasta and beans. They were munching grass to make up for vitamin deficiency. What water there was was being boiled as a precaution against disease.

There have been several abortive attempts to get humanitarian aid into the district. The Bosnian authorities have set up a new convoy of 40 tonnes, standing by to try again with an escort from the U.N. protection force. But prospects are unpromising—when the latest attempt was made two weeks ago, Serbian militia opened fire on the U.N. armoured vehicles and drove them back.

Because gatherings in daylight are too dangerous, Dobrinja buries its dead at night, in the gardens of the modern apartment blocks erected when Sarajevo hosted the winter Olympic games of 1984.

The two journalists said there was a remarkable degree of solidarity in the besieged suburb, to organise defences and share out the available resources.

A lot of the weapons and ammunition were apparently seized from Serbian snipers, themselves long-standing residents who were caught when they started opening fire on others. It seemed some were summarily executed.

French Humanitarian Convoy Reaches Sarajevo

AU1606072792 Paris AFP in English
0214 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Paris, June 16 (AFP) — A third French humanitarian convoy with 15 tonnes of humanitarian aid arrived in the embattled Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, on Monday [16 June], according to a statement issued by French Humanitarian Action Minister Bernard Kouchner. Two other convoys, led by Kouchner himself and his advisers Jean-Maurice Ripert and Michel Bonnot, reached Sarajevo last week with 11 tonnes of supplies.

The convoys were organised by UNICEF and the French aid bodies, Medecins du Monde and Pharmaciens Sans Frontieres, who distributed supplies to hospitals and clinics.

One hundred tonnes of humanitarian supplies is stockpiled 30 kilometres (18 miles) outside Sarajevo at Kiseljak. This will be transported, it is hoped daily, to Sarajevo in small convoys.

Kouchner asked the United Nations in New York Monday to provide protection for the convoys.

Earlier in the day, another French aid convoy, organised by the humanitarian group Equilibre and under U.N. protection, arrived in Belgrade en route to Sarajevo with 17 truckloads of supplies. Equilibre said it hoped the convoy would resume its journey to Sarajevo late Monday or early Tuesday, but could give no indication of a time of arrival in the Bosnian capital.

In Vienna, Austrian aid organizers said 500 trucks filled with humanitarian aid had been sent since the end of May to help residents in trouble spots in the former Yugoslav federation.

Serb Region of Krajina Forms Own Government

LD1706110292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1019 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] Banja Luka, June 17 (TANJUG)—The Serb Autonomous Region (AR) of Krajina in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has formed its assembly, government and many regional organizations and institutions.

The AR Krajina, in northwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina, is one of the regions within the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was proclaimed on April 7 on the predominantly-Serb populated territories in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this way, Serbs opposed the secessionist policy of the Moslem-Croat coalition in the republic's leadership.

A year ago, the AR Krajina founded a regional center for refugees from then war-stricken Croatia, whose number currently exceeds 120,000.

Inhabitants of 24 municipalities in the AR Krajina, which has the population of 1.1 million, left their homes after a blockade by Moslem-Croat paramilitary formations.

The regional Red Cross has on its part opened soup kitchens in the territory of the AR Krajina to help tens of thousands of the most needy and homeless people from war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The AR Krajina has also formed its public audit service and its national bank as the Moslem-Croat authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina excluded the region from the republic's payment system.

Lawyers of the AR Krajina, being left without links with colleagues in Bosnia-Hercegovina, have formed the bar association of Krajina.

The AR Krajina will soon found its independent trade union because, as trade union officials said, "sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina has ceased to function long ago."

As writers of the AR Krajina refused to take part in the work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina writers' association, they said they would form an association of writers and translators of Krajina next Friday.

Deputy Premier Cengic Attends ICO Meeting

WA1006155392

For reports on Deputy Prime Minister Muhamed Cengic's visit to Istanbul for a meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization's [ICO] foreign ministers to discuss the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, see the Turkey section of the 17 June West Europe DAILY REPORT, and subsequent issues.

HSP President Accuses Tudjman of 'High Treason'

AU1606102092 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 92 p 10

[R. Arsenic report: "Paraga Accuses Tudjman of High Treason"]

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Jun—"Charges are being brought against the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP] with increasing frequency. They are coming from the public persecutor, and the one who gives him his orders, that is president Tudjman, without whose permission not a hair can be touched on anybody's head."

With these words, HSP President Dobroslav Paraga opened today's news conference, which was called in connection with charges against him that he had organized and sent HOS [Croatian Defense Forces] party units to the battlefields of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Reminding journalists that at the beginning of the year he had been accused of libel for saying that Tudjman had sold out eastern Slavonia, Paraga said that he stood behind that statement and would add to it that "Tudjman had sold out central Croatia, too," because he had allowed Serbian autonomy in Knin and Glina.

Paraga stressed that the HSP, that is, the HOS, was "sending soldiers from Croatia and elsewhere to the battlefields of Herceg-Bosnia on a regular basis," and "all those who had initiated these charges—starting with President Tudjman—were guilty of high treason, because Croats do not only live in the Croatia created by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. "Nothing can stop us now. We are going for borders on the Drina river, for the Independent State of Croatia [name of Croatia during World War II], and if somebody promised Europe something else, then let that person sweat now," Paraga said:

He added: "There are many generals and soldiers of the Croatian army in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that is kept secret. It is good that they are there, because everyone has the right to fight for their people. That right cannot be taken away from anyone, including the HSP."

Paraga also claimed that "it was a matter of President Tudjman retaliating against President Paraga of the HSP," that "Tudjman was deciding who went on trial, and how he would be convicted," and that the Croatian Democratic Community had betrayed the confidence of the people, so its new pre-election slogan should be—"We know, they have betrayed." [as published]

"We will fight until the final victory. We will fight for Sarajevo, as we would have fought for Zagreb, whether anybody likes it or not. They can put me under temporary arrest, but I would not recommend it, because those who arrest me now could be arrested tomorrow," Paraga said. He added that the HSP representatives would, at the next parliamentary session (starting tomorrow), demand the dismissal of Vladimir Seks, the republican public prosecutor.

The party's army leader, Mile Dedakovic Jastreb, spoke about the operations of the HOS units in Bosnia-Hercegovina, claiming that they were winning on all fronts. "The units of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] are joining our ranks. The interest is incredible. These days about 10,000 of them are joining our units," said this former commander of the "Vukovar defense."

"HOS is going further—until the Serbs are pushed back across the Drina river. The fact is that there is no serious fighting without the HOS."

HSP lawyer Zvonimir Hodak reminded the journalists of the decision of the Croatian High Court that the HOS units were not paramilitary formations, but regular units of the Croatian army, which were entitled to wear their own emblems. In view of that fact, Hodak said that charges against Paraga that spoke of the HOS as a paramilitary force did not hold.

Mario Mihaljevic, the party's propaganda chief, stated that the HSP "supported the freedom of the press," and condemned charges of libel being brought against journalists.

Radio, TV Council Holds First Session

LD1706152692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Jun 92

[Text] The first constitutive session of the Croatian Radio and TV Council was held in Zagreb today. As envisaged by law, the Council, as a special supreme body of Croatian Radio and TV, consists of deputies from the Croatian Assembly and representatives of public, cultural, and scientific institutions and churches. Another ten members of the Council will be elected from among the Croatian Radio and TV employees who, at the proposal of the program collegium, will be nominated by the Croatian Radio and TV management board.

At the session today, a document was adopted specifying the operational procedure and the structure of the Council. At the same time, the status of the Croatian Radio and TV as a public company was endorsed. Directors and editors-in-chief of the Croatian Radio and TV outlined the main aspects of programs last year and the program orientations for the next 12 months. At the same time, the Council passed a decision to invite applications for the post of editor of Croatian Radio and TV. Professor Dr. Marijan Sunjic, rector of Zagreb University, was elected chairman of the Croatian Radio and TV Council, and writer Dubravko Jelcic, vice-president of the Croatian Cultural Society [Matica Hrvatska], was elected the Council's deputy chairman.

Ambiguities of Electoral Law Viewed

92BA1054A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 92 p 5

[Article by Josip Smidt: "Election Law Unclear"]

[Text] Zagreb—The coordinating committee of Croatian parliamentary opposition parties has supported the demand of the SDPH [Democratic Reform Party of Croatia] that the Croatian Assembly furnish an authentic interpretation of the election law. This applies above all to candidacy in the elections—can a candidate on the "government" slate be at the same time a candidate in the system where majority election applies? And second, can a person who is running for president of the republic also be on the slate for deputies?

According to Dr. Ivan Cesar, professor, who chaired the meeting of the coordinating committee on behalf of the HKDS [Croatian Christian Democratic Party], neither an affirmative nor negative answer to these two questions can be obtained from the law. That is why the Assembly must furnish an authentic interpretation, because otherwise the election commission could afterward do what it pleases. The demand is not only for an authentic interpretation, but also that the same individual may run both for president of the state and also for deputy.

Manipulation

Dr. Anton Vujic (SDH [Social Democrats of Croatia]) said that the law truly is not clear and that the demand for an authentic interpretation is an expression of political interest and an expression of the development of democracy. Ljubomir Antic (HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]) said that the election campaign could not begin until these matters are cleared up. He said that the regulation on the voting of "persons who are outside the borders of Croatia" is also unclear. Does it apply to everyone, or only those who are temporarily abroad, at the time of the elections? The legality of the elections, Miko Tripalo (HNS [Croatian People's Party]) warned, is in question because of deficiencies in voter lists and the imprecise provisions on voting abroad. After all, if 25 percent of the electorate still has no domicile, and without a domicile it is impossible to register to vote, this means that a fourth of the electorate would have no access to the elections. At the same time, will Croats who reside permanently in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] be allowed to come and vote for the government in Croatia? All of this opens the door to extensive manipulation by the incumbent party. Dr. Cesar, asking whether the elections can be undertaken at all because of the numerous loopholes in the law, expressed the opinion that they should go ahead with the elections although he is convinced that they will not facilitate the development of democracy.

The coordinating committee also confirmed its previous resolutions concerning the conditions for conducting the elections. Those resolutions are to be sent to the president of the republic, the president of the Assembly, the prime minister, and the chairman of the election commission, and they pertain to monitoring the conduct of the elections, the financing of the elections, and the behavior of political parties.

One thing being sought is that representatives of all opposition parliamentary parties be incorporated in election committees, that the secrecy of balloting be assured, that voter lists be precisely established as a condition for holding the elections, and that a portion of the compensation for election costs be paid as an advance before the elections are held.

As for the code of behavior, in the view of the coordinating committee, it would have to contain the following provisions: equal space and time for all parties on television, radio, and in the press, which would be regulated by a specific agreement in all the enterprises within the media, equal use of space for holding campaign meetings for all parties, and equal conditions for all parties to put up posters in spaces specifically provided for this purpose.

It was emphasized in conclusion that these demands represent the minimum, and if they are not accepted there must be a reassessment of the purpose of holding the elections and the participation of the parliamentary opposition parties in such elections.

Insisting that the presidents of all the opposition parties which intend to participate in the elections sign this document, in order to bind them to respecting it on behalf of the parties, Dr. Anton Vujic said that the final section of the document also constituted a commitment to a possible boycotting of the elections. Miko Tripalo immediately objected, saying that they could seek an improvement of the conditions for the elections, but that the HNS will not assume a commitment to boycott the elections. It turned out, however, that the wording in the document does not explicitly presuppose a boycott of the elections. Zvonimir Nikolic (HDS [Croatian Democratic Party]) said in this connection that the crux of the matter is whether the opposition parties can or cannot reach consensus in establishing campaign behavior.

The issue of when the elections are to be held was also raised. Whereas Z. Nikolic, recalling that the president of the republic and the prime minister have announced the possibility of the elections being held in July, asked whether elections could be held before Croatian authority is installed throughout the entire area of the republic, Ljubomir Antic responded with another question: What will happen if the elections are postponed for a lengthy period of time? In his opinion, that would make it possible for the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] to stay in power for several more years. In this connection, Miko Tripalo favored postponing the elections until the enemy army withdraws from Croatian territory and precise voter lists are established.

Provisions in Dispute

The coordinating committee also sent to the Assembly objections to provisions that are in dispute in the law on election of the president of the republic and the law on election of deputies. It is not clear, for example, what will happen if someone supports two candidates with his signature. Or again, does the president of the republic have the right to use the conduct of his office to promote his candidacy? How is it to be proven that some member of an election commission or election committee is not in fact a member of some political party as prescribed by law? Why does the law nowhere state the deadline by which election commissions and election boards must be established? How will the voter lists be done for refugees and those driven from their homes? How are their polling places to be determined? In addition to candidates for deputy, will there also be election races for alternate deputies? The law provides that at least 30 days must pass from the date of calling the elections and the date of the election itself, but the opposition parties favor a period of at least 60 days.

Mate Ljubas (HSP [Croatian Rights Party]) called for the meeting of the coordinating committee to debate the announcement of the arrest of the president of the Croatian Rights Party. In Ljubas' interpretation, this is all part of the incumbent party's campaign politics, because if investigatory procedure is instituted against Dr. Dobroslav Paraga, which could take even six months, he would be prevented from speaking in public and taking part in the election campaign. If in the end he is cleared of guilt, the elections would have passed.... The coordinating committee resolved to debate this topic only when Paraga receives the indictment, that is, when it has the relevant document in hand.

The representatives of the opposition parties also had before them a motion of Dr. Cesar to lodge an interpellation in the Assembly as to why the registration of private radio and TV stations, including the creation of independent Croatian television, is not being allowed. It was stated that this is to be regulated by adoption of the new law on radiobroadcasting, which has still not been adopted, so that the interpellation would have the purpose of urging faster work on that document.

UNPROFOR Causes 'Damage' for Republic

92BA1039A NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 92 p 7A

[Article by Marko Veselica: "The Disputable Agreement"]

[Text] The status of the blue helmets is one of the most controversial issues in the Croatian state, partisan, and political scene. The Croatian Democratic Party [HDS] has always been critical of the way in which the negotiating and verifying of the agreement was done by President Tudjman in the name of the Republic of Croatia with the EC and the UN. It is obvious that a lot of patience and compromise was necessary for the international community to recognize Croatia and for Croatia to be accepted into membership of the UN. This international recognition and membership into the UN, on 22 May 1992, transformed the status of Croatia both in the scene of the former Yugoslavia and in the overall European and global scene. This recognition means the death of Yugoslavia and the disqualification of Serbia as the obvious aggressor, the one to be blamed for the genocide of Croatian and Muslim peoples, as well as of other peoples, living on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This gives Croatia and its foreign policy enormous opportunities to end the war on its territory and on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to expel the aggressor, to begin the process of qualification of such crimes, and for punishing the proponents.

The way in which the negotiations with the UN representatives were carried out, and the way in which Vance's plan about the arrival of the blue helmets into Croatia was accepted, inflicted huge damage to Croatia and brought doubt as to the productivity of the whole undertaking. The number of formulations about positions of the blue helmets and their commander from India, General Satish Nambiar, as well as their actions during their stay, up until now, on Croatian soil brings into doubt whether the blue helmets, in some of their aspects and moves, are becoming an instrument of Serbian policy on the territory of the independent and internationally recognized state of Croatia. It is absurd, politically and morally unacceptable, that in the agreement regarding the arrival of the blue helmets, that the Croatian state or its representatives are not mentioned, or its jurisdiction in the areas now occupied by mobs of Serbian-Chetnik soldiers. It is also unacceptable that the commander of the blue helmets, General Nambiar, is the only one who legitimately can communicate with the chief of the general staff of the Yugo-army, which is responsible for the genocide of the Croatian people and which is clearly an instrument of the occupying Serbian policy.

The revolt of the citizens of Croatia is understandable, especially for those who remain in those occupied areas in which blue helmets are now stationed, because of the continued expulsion of the small number of remaining Croats in eastern Slavonia (e.g., Dalj) by the Chetniks, to which the blue helmets did not react, nor did they protect the innocent citizens of Croatia. It is absurd that the blue helmets come to the territory of Croatia by way of the port of Bar, the Belgrade airport, and the airport in Ljubljana, and not via Croatian ports and airports. The agreement also provides that Serbian currency be used in these areas, that Serbian products be purchased, and that the local authorities include throat cutters and war criminals, all of this under the wings of the blue helmets.

With the admission of Croatia into the UN, all reasons for such positioning of the blue helmets in Croatia cease to exist. That is why the Croatian Government and all

other Croatian authorities, which according to the Constitution have the legitimate right to carry out international negotiations, and to conclude agreements, must urgently open the process of rethinking this agreement under which the blue helmets are to remain on Croatian soil.

We are witnesses to the fact that the Serbo-Chetnik throat-cutters in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not giving up, they continue with unheard of massacres and destruction, although originally, it was determined that the UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] headquarters be setup in Sarajevo. This proves that Serbia, the JA [Yugoslav Army], and the Chetniks, are instruments of the genocidal and aggressive policies of Slobodan Milosevic, and do not accept even a millimeter of the agreement regarding the role of the blue helmets in stopping the war and their role in creating a stable peace. This is evidence of a pathological, berserk genocidal policy which should be militarily defeated because only then, will it be possible to create the conditions necessary for peaceful cohabitation, and the establishment of independent democratic states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In this context the status of the blue helmets should be redefined so they can act only in cooperation and communication with legitimate bodies representing the Croatian democratic government on a global, as well as on a local level, and which would give an ultimatum to the remaining Serbian mobs, and the Chetnik slaughterers to leave Croatia as soon as possible. And, if this does not happen, then either the UN troops will intervene on the basis of Security Council decisions, or the Croatian army will have to complete the process of liberating Croatia and the expulsion of the occupying forces from every inch of Croatian soil.

The HDS will act exclusively from these positions regarding further moves of the blue helmets and moves of responsible bodies of the Croatian Government.

Federal

Memorandum to UN Details Croat Actions in Bosnia

LD1606181692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Croatia's involvement and military engagement in Bosnia-Hercegovina has assumed such proportions that it is now a classical armed aggression aimed at conquering and annexing Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is stated in a "Memorandum on the involvement of the Republic of Croatia in armed conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina," which the Yugoslav Presidency has sent to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

On the basis of the memorandum and the accompanying documents, which were forwarded to TANJUG today, the Presidency expects that the United Nations and the international community will undertake urgent measures aimed at halting Croatia's aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, creating conditions for continued talks between representatives of all three constituent nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina about the future of that republic.

Numerous documents, the memorandum says, show not just the extent of Croatia's military engagement in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the deployment of the latest military technology and weapons, but also the unimaginable brutality of the Croatian armed forces toward the primarily Serb civilian population.

The memorandum specifies that brigades of the Croatian army are in northeast Bosnia, western Hercegovina, the Neretva river valley, in the Livno, Duvno, and Suica area, and eastern Hercegovina.

It is estimated at the same time that between 35,000 and 40,000 members of the Croatian armed forces are involved in operations against the Serb population in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

As a result of the aggression of the Croatian army and involvement of the Croat-Muslim paramilitary formations, the Serb population in Bosnia-Hercegovina is suffering to a point where it is starting to look like genocide because of the number of victims.

While clashes were underway on the territory of the Serbian Krajinas, Croatia's political and state leadership undertook measures to transfer the armed conflicts to Bosnia-Hercegovina. It supplied many members of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] and the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]—who were the core of the paramilitary formations—with weapons and other equipment through many channels.

Members of the Croatian army were sent into the Republic with false identity papers, tasked with assisting the military organisation of the HDZ and SDA.

Several thousand citizens of Croatian and Muslim nationality from Bosnia-Hercegovina have been trained in the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, it is disclosed.

Citing many specific examples, the memorandum also notes instances of sabotage-terrorist groups from Croatia being infiltrated into Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Statements by members of the Croatian armed forces, cited in detail in the memorandum, provide evidence of Croatian army units' aggression against the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

These and numerous other facts indicate that units of the Croatian army on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina are under the direct control of the supreme command of the Croatian army in Zagreb, it is stated.

As well as presenting many examples of crimes against the Serbian population, the memorandum stresses that in many areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina concentration camps have been set up in which Serbs, mainly women, children and old people, have been held for a long time.

In the occupied parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the memorandum says, the rule of the Republic of Croatia is also being set up. The legally elected organs of government have been suspended in several municipalities, crisis headquarters have been formed, and the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina have no influence over their work. In these municipalities the state symbols of the Republic of Croatia—the coat of arms, flag and anthem—are being used.

In the part of Bosnia-Hercegovina where the population is Croatian, the memorandum says in conclusion, Croatian payment systems are in force and the Croatian dinar is used as the basic means of payment.

Presidency Ceases To Exist With Cosic Election

LD1606125592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic, as TANJUG unofficially learned today, should carry out his regular duties in the presidential cabinet in the palace of federation in New Belgrade.

This cabinet, which was traditionally used by top-level officials of the second Yugoslavia, has been vacant since September last year when then President Stjepan Mesic of the SFRY Presidency abandoned his office and stopped visiting Belgrade.

Yesterday's election of Cosic as president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia officially marked the end of the Yugoslav Presidency.

The term of office of its four members—Branko Kostic, Borisav Jovic, Jugoslav Kostic, and Sejdo Bajramovic—was thus terminated.

Branko Kostic and Borisav Jovic have been elected federal deputies and Jugoslav Kostic president of one of the assembly chambers.

Sejdo Bajramovic, as he has confirmed to TANJUG, is going to join his "rank and file"—the Serbian Assembly, which at some stage elected him in his then capacity as people's deputy to the Yugoslav Presidency.

As far as the State Committee for Cooperation with the UN and the operational headquarters for UN peace forces is concerned, TANJUG has learned that they are continuing to operate with their current composition, which means that Borisav Jovic is still president of the state committee.

There has been unofficial speculation that this situation may remain the same until the election of a new federal government, which is expected to decide on the position, role, and composition of the state committee and the operational headquarters.

Commander Says Army Not Threatening Muslims

AU1206205892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 12 June 92

[Report by Branko Stankovic—from Novi Pazar]

[Text] The greatest threat to peace on the territory of Sandzak is not the Army, as the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] would like to present it, but paramilitary formations that are arming themselves, organizing themselves militarily, and preparing for clashes.

This was stated by Uzice Corps Commander General Dragoljub Ojdanic at today's meeting in Novi Pazar, which was attended by the heads of the Raska and Zahribovski [name as heard] districts, presidents of all Sandzak communes, representatives of political parties, and the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The topic of this meeting, which was organized by a Novi Pazar multi-party body, were ways to preserve the peace on the territory of Sandzak.

The best answer to the question as to what the Army is doing in Sandzak was given by the president of the Tutin commune. He said that this question is superfluous if one bears in mind that the radical faction of the SDA indoctrinated the majority of the Muslim people on the subject of Sandzak's secession and that the leaders of this party have been calling for foreign intervention for months.

The Muslim people have no reason to fear the Army because the Army is here primarily to prevent the violation of peace and the spreading of clashes from Bosnia onto these territories, General Ojdanic stated. After the improper behavior of individual army reservists toward the Muslim population was pointed out, the representative of the Uzice Corps stressed that sanctions will be applied against such offenders, ranging from fines to two months' imprisonment.

The representatives of communes and parties concentrated more on presenting the problems that are already known rather than proposing solutions to preserve peace in the best possible way. The commander of the Uzice corps reproached them for not mentioning the presence of paramilitary formations in their communes, the armament of residents on ethnic principles, the participation of the extremists from this territory in the bloody clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the smuggling of drugs and arms.

Once all these occurrences are eliminated, conditions for normal life will be created on these territories and we will no longer be needed here, General Ojdanic said. He also proposed measures that should be undertaken to prevent clashes in Sandzak. The measures are as follows:

To immediately stop illegal armament and formation of paramilitary formations.

To launch an initiative for disarmament of the residents of both nationalities via authorized organs.

To ascertain the names of persons from Sandzak who are participating in the paramilitary formations in Bosnia.

To prevent at any price the transfer of armed individuals and groups from Bosnia on the territory of Raska District. To these measures, which where approved by the majority of present officials, we must also add a proposal of a representative of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia to form mixed patrols consisting of Serbs and Muslims who would jointly patrol this territory. The meeting in Novi Pazar ended with a slogan: Let us turn to one another instead of one against the other.

General Adzic Explains How He Resigned

92BA1039B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 92 pp 19-21

[Statement by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic to NIN; place and date not given—first paragraph is NIN introduction]

[Text] Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, who until yesterday was acting federal secretary for National Defense and previously was chief, general staff of the armed forces of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], gave reasons and motives for his resignation, and sent a message to those who forced the recent retirement of 38 generals: "Gentlemen, does your conscience bother you at all for your actions towards the soldiers who dutifully executed your orders, directives, and decisions? Let these actions stand in your honor."

On May 8, at 1100, I was asked to report to the Presidency of the SFRY. At the appointed time, I arrived at the office of Mr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the

Presidency of the SFRY, where I waited for him some 10 minutes before being received.

After being asked about my health in an unusually cool manner, Mr. Kostic told me about the decision of the Presidency of the SFRY to dismiss Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac from the position of commander of the second military district (VO), and added that this decision was made after consultation with the presidents of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro. I was surprised on hearing about this decision since at a previous meetings we had discussed this issue in detail, and following a thorough explanation, given by myself, as to why General Kukanjac should not be dismissed, it was decided that he would not be dismissed.

I asked Mr. Kostic why they now wanted to dismiss him after we had already discussed the issue. I was told that this decision was based on the fact that General Kukanjac made an error while commanding a second military district column that was attacked by fascist Croatian-Muslim paramilitary units acting under direct orders from one part of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, more precisely Ganic and Kljujic in collusion, even in agreement, with Alija Izetbegovic. In this attack, six JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] soldiers, including four officers, were killed.

I could not accept this decision and did not agree that General Kukanjac should be dismissed since the reasons for such action were not justified (later I will explain why).

After this I practically received an ultimatum: "By God, Blagoje, we also spoke about you at the meeting, whether you would accept this decision or resign."

Without hesitation, I verbally resigned and added that my resignation would follow in writing as early as the next day. I was then told that my written resignation should be submitted that very day, since it had to go public.

Unjust Dismissal of General Kukanjac

I went to my office, wrote my resignation, and sent it to Mr. Kostic. With the same courier that I sent my resignation, I received the decision of the Presidency of the SFRY accepting my resignation, which means that this was all planned and prepared ahead of time.

Was Colonel General Kukanjac guilty and should he have been dismissed?

The answer to both of these questions is in the negative.

1. The public is familiar with the fact that General Kukanjac has been very successful in leading the political battle in the area of Bosnia-Hercegovina in accordance with guidelines and strategies from some members of the Supreme Command (VK), which, on the whole, were never disputed. The public is also well aware of the one who publicly said that he would never sign the decision about withdrawing the JNA troops from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and who was the one that said the JNA will remain in Bosnia-Hercegovina for at least five years. Thus, the political battle of General Kukanjac had its basis in these and similar other publicly expressed views.

2. The second military district, in accordance with decisions, orders, and directives received from the supreme commander and headquarters of the Supreme Command (SVK), successfully maintained the huge front along the border of the Serbian Republic of Krajina, and fought the battle with the Croatian-fascist occupying forces on three fronts in Bosnia-Hercegovina (in Posavina, in the Neretva River valley, and in Kupres). This means that, in fact, the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina started with the aggressions of the Croatian fascist army on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina against the JNA and the Serbian people.

3. General Kukanjac, with his aides, officers, and soldiers, did everything to prevent civil, ethnic war in Bosnia-Hercegovina while having the full support of the supreme command. Unfortunately, the Croatian-Muslim coalition, encouraged by support received from outside (a referendum, recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina as an independent state, accusations against the JNA and Belgrade), had interests in spreading the war across the whole territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina for which we found evidence in two directives that came from the so-called headquarters of the territorial defense force of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the blessing of and under the order of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Alija Izetbegovic himself.

In accordance with the interests of the Croatian-Muslim coalition, the interests of their allies, and order-issuing authorities, the attacks on JNA units were launched across the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

JNA units did not have any alternative but to respond with heavy fire in self-defense. The night before Alija Izetbegovic returned from Lisbon, where he had attended the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, a fierce attack was carried out against all military installations in Sarajevo, including the military hospital. A general and fierce war was started in other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, too. The Croatian-Muslim army tried to break the resistance of the JNA and of the Serbian people and to take complete control over certain areas, especially over Sarajevo, which was the strategic target of the Muslim leadership in the SDA [Party of Democratic Action].

During the afternoon of the same day, Alija Izetbegovic returned from his trip and landed at the Sarajevo airport. There was a strong possibility that Mr. Izetbegovic would be harmed on his way to the offices of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because according to information received, a plan had been conceived by some members of the Muslim leadership—to get rid of

Mr. Izetbegovic in the process of the fighting for power, and to blame the JNA and the Serbian people for the incident.

General Kukanjac suggested to me that we keep Mr. Izetbegovic in the Lukavica barracks; I approved and in that respect take full responsibility. Mr. Kostic was informed of this as soon as we were able to get in touch with him since he was spending the weekend at his birthplace. I must add that he did not object.

By keeping Mr. Izetbegovic in the Lukavica barracks, and with the help of representatives of the European Mission (EM) and representatives of UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force], we tried to stop the attacks on the military installations, establish a cease-fire, and to arrange an early departure for the command of the second military district. Such an agreement was achieved. The column started out under the escort of representatives from the EM and the UNPROFOR. What happened then—the savagery committed by Alija's and Ganic's fighters with their blessing and under their orders, is known. Their savagery and crimes were condemned even by Alija's closest friends, even those who support, advise, and give him directives on this bloody war.

Is it possible to dismiss Milutin Kukanjac because he, as a brave commander, stepped to the head of the column. Soldiers know that the head of a column is the most dangerous position, that only the most courageous commanders take such a position.

If dismissal of Milutin Kukanjac means bringing an offering to the sacrificial alter of the "Western gods" who just cannot find mercy for us, then this is another thing—such a sacrifice, if it is being made to higher interests, would have been acceptable to both Kukanjac and to the many other brave generals and officers in the now former JNA.

4. Can General Kukanjac be reproached for not pulling out of Sarajevo "in time"? Certainly not, because if the chief of state and the supreme commander, both publicly said that there will be no pulling out of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that they will not sign such a decision, how could a general do it then? Besides, one must keep in mind that the transfer and moving of a command is a fairly long process. We can also ask ourselves—haven't we been kept in a mistaken belief that we would discuss and confer about the status of the JNA in Bosnia-Hercegovina? Didn't Mr. Kostic, after having talked with Alija Izetbegovic in Skopje, say among other things: "... It is good that Mr. Izetbegovic did not make a demand for the JNA to withdraw from Bosnia-Hercegovina...."

Let me conclude: A wise and brave Serbian and Yugoslav general, Milutin Kukanjac, has been unjustly and dishonestly dismissed.

Private Intelligence of Branko Kostic

In my written resignation, I stated that the motive for my resignation was the dismissal of General Kukanjac, but also that this is not the only reason, so let me say more about the other reasons.

After the resignation of army General Veljko Kadijevic, I made it clear to the Presidency of the SFRY and to the members of the military command headquarters that I do not have any ambitions to, and that I do not want to, become the minister of defense. Besides this, I made it clear that in 1992 I met all the requirements for retirement (60 years of age and more than 40 years of service), and that I would seek retirement. Normally, I expected that with the "Vance plan" the war would be over and that I could retire peacefully. I asked that the minister of defense be appointed immediately, but I was told that that would be a complicated procedure now that I was assigned as the acting federal secretary of national defense (VD SNO) until elections are held in the new state, which I accepted.

Shortly after that I was faced with problems that go beyond the war, and with problems that accompanied the war. I want to point out some of them now, those that the public is not already familiar with:

1. Very soon, at a meeting with the people from the top leadership of the country, I was faced with their demand to retire the first group of generals (in February) which would be replaced with new commanders and, of course, and with the demand to place my assistant, General Panic, in the position of acting chief of staff for the armed forces of the SFRY. I had nothing against the new replacements, but I did point out the danger of revenge and the breaking up of the RV [Air Force] and the PVO [Air Defense] commands. I suggested that the retiring of the generals be performed through the normal process because it would not be a good time to bring discord into the army due to the already difficult circumstances.

A decision was not made at the meeting. Instead, a list of all the generals and admirals was demanded in order for "responsible comrades" to have one more look at it.

After a certain time, I was called again, and the list of retirees was, upon their request, adopted. Again, I stressed that this decision was not good, but since it had to be done I excepted four generals from the list, for which I had fought hard, to be retained (Z. Avramovic, N. Cubra, S. Tumanov, and Z. Mircetic). I informed the other generals, those directly under me, about the decision of the Presidency of the SFRY and they accepted it with understanding, though disappointment, and following this decision they left to await their retirement.

2. I can now, with full responsibility, claim that Mr. Kostic organized his own private intelligence network at the SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] and gathered information for himself, totally avoiding "a particular acting SSNO colonel general," Blagoje Adiz who, by now, was resigning. Once, he even said in public,

alluding to my views: "Some at the SSNO are too sensitive, we at the supreme command also have the right to gather information in some other way." In practice, this was confirmed to be absolutely correct. I do not dispute the right of Mr. Kostic to gather his own information, but he certainly should have consulted also with the acting chief of the SSNO if he had any confidence and trust in me at all—something I now seriously doubt.

3. In the same way that he organized his private intelligence network, Mr. Branko Kostic also totally privatized the cadre-personnel policy. There are many examples to support this, but I think to name a few will be sufficient.

When the first group of generals was retired in February, Mr. Kostic appointed his compatriot as the assistant at the military sector, after which, in a speedy process, he promoted him to the rank of lieutenant colonel general and placed him as a chief to his staff because he allegedly had been neglected until now. This might be considered a minor sin although this decision was "accidentally" made at a home gathering.

Mr. Kostic appointed Colonel Nedeljko Boskovic, who retired in the first half of 1991 at his own request, as chief of security forces at the command of the RV and PVO, in other words, just before the war broke out. I would like to mention here, that I was forced to sign the order covering his return to duty (since this is under SSNO jurisdiction—by law, he was subject to recall for up to one year). This I did after several hours of persuasion, even swearing to the fact that this was being done to "save the country," and that within 10 days I would be presented documents about saving the country (naively I believed it—such documents were never presented to me). Instead, the so-called "Opera" singing started, which was supposed to show the intelligence work at the JNA.

Of course, the real reason lies in the fact that the retired Colonel Nedeljko Boskovic is related to a close friend of Mr. Branko Kostic, and possibly there are even some family ties to Mr. Kostic. This "saviour" of the country, retired Colonel Nedeljko Boskovic, has been promoted in recent days to the rank of major general and placed as the chief of security administration. Escorted by specially trained people, he arrived to take over the duty (presumably by force) before the then "unfit" chief of security received the decree relieving him of his duties.

4. The most drastic reason for which everyone should be ashamed is the manner in which 38 generals were retired. They learned of their retirement via the TV. Naturally, when I submitted my resignation I did not know that this would happen on the same day, but there were indications, since it was suggested by several members of the headquarters of the supreme command. I did not accept it. I demanded (naturally, while I still believed that I had a say in making decisions) that we wait until the new state and the new army were formed, something I also looked forward to very sincerely, and then all those, including myself, who do not fulfill the requirements and for whom positions could not be guaranteed anymore, would leave and let the younger people come to work and form a new army. Of course, my demand did not imply that some possibly unreliable individuals should not leave immediately, or at anytime, when such conditions exist, which is something I also demanded.

The manner in which this group was retired was totally incorrect and highly ruthless, not to mention inhuman. The public must know that these are honest men, ultimately faithful to their people. Among them, there was a considerable number who are not Serbian but who remained faithful to the JNA to the end, and who accepted the new SRJ (Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia).

It must be specifically pointed out that our supreme commander - the Presidency of the SFRY (the former supreme command (VK) for us who are now retired) by doing what they did, violated a number of their own decisions. The decisions about withdrawal from Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia contained clauses that said all those who sincerely chose to stay with Yugoslavia and the JNA would have a place in the new army. One could ask why were the ones retired almost all generals (especially Macedonians). Must be because they are not Serbian, I guess. The fact that they all have mixed marriages must have been forgotten, as well as, the fact that most of them have children who were born here, and also, that many of the children have now formed mixed marriages. To all of this, I must add the threat of Mr. Kostic that there will be more cleaning up. Does this mean that those who remain, will be forced to be obedient and blackmailed as to their future?

I ask my former supreme command: Gentlemen, do you have a guilty conscience for so treating the soldiers who dutifully executed your orders, directives, and decisions? Gentlemen, even if you do not need us anymore we could have, at least, parted with some humanism. Gentlemen, we believed you and you betrayed us, you humiliated us, and you rejected us. Let this serve your honor.

Prince Aleksandar on Prospects of Returning

92BA1040A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 May 92 p 19

[Interview with Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, heir to the throne of Yugoslavia, by Slobodan Pavlovic in Washington; date not given: "Exclusive: Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, Heir to the Throne, After Visit to Washington: I Will Come in a Month or Two!"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] "I think that the authorities in Belgrade are spent, and that we deserve a government of national salvation, which would comprise representatives of the main political parties and intellectuals," Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, the heir to the throne, told BORBA, adding that he would return to the country soon.

Washington—At a time that is extremely inauspicious for defenders of Serbian and Yugoslav interests, Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, the heir to the throne, was given an exceptional reception here.

In two days, he covered the Congress-State Department-White House triangle. He spoke with prominent senators, Assistant Secretary Niles, former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia Zimmermann, and Bush's national security adviser, Adm. Scowcroft, about one thing and one thing only: the suicidal war and ways to halt the bloodshed, restore peace, and establish democracy in the former region of Yugoslavia.

It is no secret what Washington had to say to Karadjordjevic. In recent days, this has come through loud and clear from various parts. Ever since the rest of the Western world, led by the United States, took a stance—to decisively block aggression in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] through political and economic sanctions (and through military measures, if absolutely necessary). And everyone knows whose aggression it is—if you ask the international community.

What Did He Tell Them?

However, what did he tell them? How does Prince Aleksandar Karadjordjevic view the situation in the country whose foundations were laid by his grandfather and to whose throne he is now the pretender? Now that this unfortunate country is literally alone against the whole world.

[Karadjordjevic] It is utterly catastrophic. The situation is serious, very serious. The blood of innocent people is flowing, we have more than a million refugees, and the nation is suffering terribly. It concerns me that people are being misused, that they are being totally trampled upon, that they are being killed. Orphans are again being created on all sides... a catastrophe.

[Pavlovic] The solution?

[Karadjordjevic] The only way forward is change. A change in favor of democratic values, through which the emphasis will be on people. I think that the authorities in Belgrade are spent, and that we deserve a government of national salvation, which would comprise representatives of the main political parties and intellectuals. And that can be done, and is the only way to achieve democracy, peace, and respect for ethnic differences.

[Pavlovic] What about the others from the former Yugoslavia?

[Karadjordjevic] Changes are necessary in the other republics as well. Everyone needs democracy, that is the top priority. The situation in Zagreb is also very serious—there too, democracy is in short supply. There too, the people are similarly confused and frightened by private armies. Democracy is the recipe for all problems. Democracy brought down the Berlin wall and everything that went with it. Didn't it?

[Pavlovic] In the name of establishing this democracy, Yugoslavia is now facing severe sanctions. They are treating us like Iraq. To what extent will the sanctions contribute to solving the problem?

[Karadjordjevic] That lack of democracy has resulted in the miserable image that Serbia has in the world today. The Western governments face a dilemma: What should they do to prevent further warfare and get democratic processes going? Now they are talking sanctions, an embargo on this, on that... I am concerned about the people who will suffer because of this. Take the ban on landings by JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport]: This will affect ordinary people, women and children, the delivery of packages with medicine and other aid that is coming to our hospitals in this situation.

Start From the Beginning

[Pavlovic] The world has taken a stance because of Bosnia. Right now, that is apparently the main problem. Until recently, B-H was called "little Yugoslavia," the "ideal mix" of nationalities who live normally in that area. But now it is hell there. Did you hear what they are saying in Washington: "the greatest atrocities in Europe since the end of the Second World War"...? How can this problem be solved? Can Bosnia be partitioned?

[Karadjordjevic] First of all, we must look at the referendum in B-H on 29 February. This was unacceptable: 63 percent of the population at that time voted for independence, and these were Muslims and Catholics. That would have been funny if it had not had such tragic consequences.... Because what would happen if such a referendum were put into a Yugoslav context? If a referendum on the future of Yugoslavia had been held a year ago in the six republics and two autonomous provinces? The Serbs certainly would have won, because they are the majority population, and the country would not be torn asunder.

That sort of referendum outcome certainly would have been accepted by the international community, even though it would have been extremely unfair. But that is what we had in B-H, and that was where it began. They adopted a system that is illegal and unconstitutional. Much of this has to be done. I have nothing against people expressing their will about their own future through democratic processes, but these processes were extremely primitive in the former Yugoslavia. These referendums of ours, for example: They were scheduled 30 days in advance, while in Western democracies—where people believe in democratic values—they leave six or nine months for all the issues to be discussed. And they do not have controlled media, as is the case in our country.

[Pavlovic] What should be done here now?

[Karadjordjevic] We must start over from the beginning. Find a new beginning, which will lead to renewed fraternization by our nations. In this way, we will show that we are capable of dealing with and solving our

problems on our own. Europe will not solve them for us; they have enough problems of their own. Now, as I see it, Slovenia has serious economic problems; nothing has come of their expectations that the Germans would help them with major investments. Or Macedonia—it is illusory to believe that it will be able to survive on charity from the EC and the United States. We are economically dependent on each other, and because of that we must respect one another. And we must make democracy the number-one priority. And not religion, which is taking us back to the Crusades.

For this reason, I am in favor of negotiations with all reasonable people. First of all to bring about a cease-fire, and then to disarm the militias that have been created, the majority of which are under the control of the government. And subsequently to sit down at the conference table.... But that can happen only after changes in Belgrade. And after changes in Zagreb too. But I think that we can do this.

West and Yugoslavia

[Pavlovic] The Yugoslav federation has passed into the annals of history. No small number of people think that it was in fact the Western world that tore Yugoslavia apart. What do you think about that?

[Karadjordjevic] The Yugoslav federation was the product of a dictatorship. I think that after the Second World War—when we also had a bloody civil war, which clearly should not have happened—we should have begun the process of democratic elections, which would have led to the formation of political parties and mutual respect.

Perhaps if we had set out then on the course taken by West Germany, with its states and local governments. That has been their great strength, and perhaps we could have had that too, instead of a central government, with local powers here and there. Instead of that, however, we immediately entered a totalitarian system.

And what did we get? Yugoslavia in fact became a rampart between the West and that which was represented by the Soviet Union and its satellites. The West used us for its own interests, injecting large sums of money (especially the United States) in order to sustain the communist government, which at one point had more political prisoners "per capita" than the USSR!

[Pavlovic] And now we are paying for that?

[Karadjordjevic] Yes, many people have already paid for it. We have lost a lot of time, and we are paying a heavy price for that now—in human lives, economic difficulties, refugees. I meet our people everywhere in Europe and here, in the United States. Young, educated people who, if they were lucky, could work at home and be with their families. I think that the West has betrayed us terribly. Indeed, the West has never supported democratic solutions for Yugoslavia. We are still neglected now that the diabolical Soviet empire and its satellites have collapsed. Organizations like "Solidarity" or "Charter 77" have gained more legitimacy than movements for democracy in my troubled country.

[Pavlovic] What do you have to say about the Vatican's role in all of this? There is a lot of talk about this in the Belgrade press.

[Karadjordjevic] We are seriously concerned about the Vatican's role. I was very upset at Christmas when I heard the Pope say from St. Peter's Square, "Let us pray for the poor Croats"! I think that that is terrible. I think that that is not Christian, and because of that I reacted strongly to it. Because should we not pray for everyone who is suffering, for everyone who has died, for all believers...! We are all human beings, from the same planet.

I am seriously concerned about the Vatican. The Vatican, of course, has the possibility of being better organized that the Orthodox world, but is this not a clear signal to us that we too should be better organized, that we should gather and unite around Orthodoxy? In the end, we are all Christians. We can get along with each other, and we can forgive each other. We do not have to fight each other. We too want to be a great religion, and we will not be mistreated by Rome.

Return to the Country

[Pavlovic] Recently, much has been said and written about your (non)arrival in the country. Last fall, when you were in Belgrade, you announced your definitive return. It was recently rumored that you have announced that this will happen soon?

[Karadjordjevic] There is a great deal of pressure for me to return. I am part of everyday life and would like for the controlled media to understand the values that I support. I must return—and I will return.

[Pavlovic] When?

[Karadjordjevic] However, I must also organize myself for the values of democracy. I must help organize parties that believe in democracy. By helping them, I would be helping the Serbian nation and its effort to be respected in the West. That is no easy task, but I cannot wait to return for much longer. I have formed a Crown Council, consisting of brilliant and respected intellectuals who are also very concerned about the fate of our country. With their help, I think that we can achieve my return and the appropriate changes towards democratic values that will return Serbia to the family of other states. And that will move Serbia towards a friendly Russia, for which we have exceptional respect, because it has been a big part of our history.

[Pavlovic] What does that mean in concrete terms? When can people in Belgrade expect you?

[Karadjordjevic] Soon! This matter is moving right along, but the appropriate preparations are necessary. I do not expect the authorities to oblige me with my

wishes; they will try to thwart democratic values using all possible means. But that is wrong and destroys the people. It destroys the family life, it destroys the economic base. They are playing games with my family as well.

At this point, however, the interests of the Serbian people are most important to me, and I am working on that—on securing peace, democracy, and economic reforms. It is a hard job, but I still hope to return to the country in a month or two. Soon, in any event.

[Pavlovic] You are not afraid for your personal safety. Do you see what sort of times we are in?

[Karadjordjevic] I think that it would be very stupid of them to start a dangerous game against someone who is respected in the West, who is received by world leaders, who believes in democratic values. That would only worsen the image of the unfortunate country and region in which we live. There are many misguided groups at this time, who need spiritual help. I feel sorry for these people and hope, from the bottom of my heart, that a future of peace awaits in this world. I must be strong and believe in God and in the youth. The future is theirs.

Serbia

Jovanovic Discusses Conflict, 'Unfair' Sanctions

AU1706064292 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 Jun 92 p 2

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Laszlo Kovacs in Budapest; date not given: "The Result: Serious War"]

[Text] Mr Jovanovic! The UN Security Council sanctions are already being felt strongly in Serbia. What measures has the government taken to alleviate the sanctions? We presume that your trip to the United States also serves this goal.

[Jovanovic] We regard the sanctions as unfair. In my opinion, in making these decisions, the UN Security Council did not pay sufficient attention to every aspect and detail of the extremely complex situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina. This also applies to naming those responsible, because the Security Council did not justly analyze the blame of every participant in the conflict. It is impossible not to find here a considerable bias, which cannot lead to a peaceful solution. The only thing that these sanctions achieved was the possibility of creating further complications, rather than the restoration of peace. We have always supported a dialogue and cooperation, rather than confronation, and especially the present one-sided approach, as the possible means of solving this conflict. We, Serbs, are not aggressors, because we do not have a single soldier in Bosnia. We have not crossed the border, and we have not occupied a single square centimeter of this territory of the neighboring republic. Even before the outbreak of this unfortunate war, we were attempting to avoid this both in Bosnia and in the international arena. We drew attention to the fact that no one should be interested in trying to upset the balance and equality between the three founding nations of the republic; similarly, it would be an illusion to believe that violating the principle of consensus prevailing between these nations would serve the interests of peace. Quite the contrary.

Unfortunately, our warnings fell upon deaf ears and, therefore, this upset the balance and led to a serious war, a war that today has assumed a national, ethnic, and religious character. The sanctions are very strong, and we feel their burden and the extra weight deriving from their unfairness. The destructive effects of such sanctions would also be felt by countries much stronger than Yugoslavia. Therefore, in the note we sent the UN secretary general, we made it clear that we find no obstacles whatsoever in fulfilling the demands incorporated in UN Resolutions 757 and 752. Our positive reply was also followed by deeds, and we are currently in the process of handing over Sarajevo Airport over to the UN troops. The entire city, and not only the airport, will be handed over to the UN troops, according to the recent announcement made by the leader of the Serbs in Bosnia. In order to eliminate the sanctions, we want to enable the free flow of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo and other towns as soon as possible. All of these measure are aimed at channelling the Bosnian attempts to settle the conflict toward a peaceful dialogue as soon as possible.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Recently, Hungary officially proposed that the United Nations also deploy UN troops to Vojvodin and Kosovo, in order to defend the minorities there. What is your opinion about this?

[Jovanovic] This initiative is neither useful not peace-loving. It is aimed at creating an unnatural situation in these areas of Serbia, and this is yet another unfortunate Hungarian initiative in a series of unfortunate initiatives. There is no serious problem whatsoever with the national minorities in Vojvodina, Hungarians or otherwise. Of course, small problems might occur, but their solution only requires a little patience and good will. We see other intentions in the initiative, like the desire to fish in troubled waters, and even an effort aimed at creating a good basis for coming up with territorial demands.

Sanctions Seen Bringing Economic Disaster

AU1606105392 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 92 p 9

[Dimitrije Boarov commentary: "Good Morning, Misery"]

[Text] Trade blockades have always led every unsuccessful government into "war communism," or some kind of fascism, so the downfall of such regimes through isolation is a painful process for the population. The

longer it takes for the leaders of Serbian politics to leave, the longer it will be before the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro can again enjoy elementary, economic dignity. Let us remember how 100.000 Albanians from the most independent and proudest "nation of eagles" crawled last year at Baker's feet, after decades of hunger.

Despite the trade embargo, the story about mass hunger in some "heavenly Yugoslavia" can only become reality when there is an energy breakdown. If EKONOMSKA POLITIKA is right, the consolidated balance sheet of food in Serbia and Montenegro shows a significant surplus. In normal production conditions, these two republics together have a "surplus" of 1.2 million tonnes of wheat, 2.42 million tonnes of corn, 220,000 tonnes of sugar, 33,000 tonnes of oil, and 97,000 tonnes of meat. However, there are indications that this food has been poorly handled during the last few months, that farming has had a setback, that inflation has been motivating farmers not to sell their produce, and that, with this year's production, about 3 million Serbian souls outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are supposed to be fed free of charge. All this leads to caution and relativizes the estimates that by rationing the food, and with the help of forced purchase, the arrival of hunger could be avoided, regardless of the duration of the trade blockade.

One should add here that the key "political center" of the embargo is that the regime will have great difficulty in providing a "just" distribution of food and hunger, and distributing the losses of food producers equally throughout the economy.

Energy supplies are a condition not only for maintenance of this self-sufficiency in food, but also for economic existence in general. Even the European Commission study on the possible effects of economic sanctions gives plenty of information on Serbia's sensitivity to an eventual oil embargo. Some of this information requires added explanation, while some does not even show the full extent of the consequences. For example, can one take seriously the stated agreement between Serbia and Russia on a delivery of oil and gas valued at $3.5 billion in 1992, in exchange for raw materials for agriculture, consumer goods, and construction material? To start with, the extent of this agreement is relativized by the fact that last year Serbia exported to the former Soviet Union goods valued at $822.9 million, and imported from there $675.7 million worth of products.

The snag is in the fact that, in an interstate arrangement, not a single tonne came from Russia to Yugoslavia either this year or last. That does not mean that the EC Commission study is wrong in stating that, in the first three months, Serbia imported oil from Russia valued at $44,305,000 (about 300,000 tonnes). The confusion comes from the fact that this oil was bought at the "spot market" from a Russian company. For that kind of money, Serbia could have bought oil from American dealers just as well. The fact that the current main oil supplier of Serbia is the Chinese company "Sinohem" does not mean that trade is blossoming between the two countries, but that this company is one of the very few in the world willing to open short-term credit lines.

According to one theory, Serbia (Yugoslavia) has stashed away a significant amount of hard currency in "a safe place." If one takes public data into account and, from the total hard currency reserves of Yugoslavia (about $2.3 billion), deduces the bulk of the trade deficit of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the first four months ($750 million), then it means that in the beginning of May we were on reserves of $1.5 billion (assuming that invisible earnings and expenditure are equivalent). If legal and illegal financial holdings in private banks abroad amount to a similar sum, it is still very little against the total debt of $12.5 billion. And when one is put into trade isolation, everyone will hurry to claim his assets—even without a formal financial blockade—and never mind the fact that "safe places" cost a great deal of money (someone with lots of free time will one day work out how much every Serb will lose in the next decade only on the grounds of unfavorable conditions for borrowing and trade). Of course, some kind of a "government in exile" would have enough money to cover hotel bills for a while.

There are many ways of proving that the trade embargo is bringing economic catastrophe to the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Have a look at the ranking list of the key trading partners of Serbia last year. The first seven are: Germany, Italy, France, Britain, Greece, Austria, and the USA. The former Soviet Union is only in eighth place, and then follow Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Iran....

Opposition Party Assails Cosic Election

LD1606164992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—The election of Dobrica Cosic to the post of the president of the so-called third Yugoslavia is just a maneuver of national-socialists and fascists in Serbia to halt inevitable democratic changes, the information council of the Serbian Renewal Movement said today.

The election, the statement notes, is a thinly veiled attempt to save the most hated regime in the world, and has thus limited Serbia's prospects.

The party stresses that in his first address to the public that Dobrica Cosic "attacked his former Supreme Commander (Tito) who has been dead for 12 years, and did not utter a single critical word about his current supreme commander and the cause of all our sufferings."

Dobrica Cosic's words are aimed only at those who elected him and who are using him as their shield.

This will not, however, halt the time of changes [pun on title of Cosic's book *The Time of Dying*], the statement concludes.

Democratic Movement Wants Milosevic's Resignation

AU1606142792 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 92 p 13

[S. Kostic report: "Delegation for Resignation"]

[Text] Belgrade—After a short break in activities, a session was called for yesterday, behind closed doors in Francuska 7, by the Council of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS]. We learn from members of this forum that many current matters are on the agenda. The members of this body are demanding the resignation of the president of the republic, Slobodan Milosevic, which follows anyway from the earlier adopted DEPOS documents. Their Council will form a delegation—comprised of prominent members of DEPOS—who will seek an audience in the president's cabinet.

DEPOS believes that the only solution for Serbia lies in the formation of an interim government of Serbia and Montenegro, which would indeed be the government of national salvation. That naturally implies, according to Leon Kojen, member of the DEPOS Executive Committee, that Slobodan Milosevic and his closest assistants will have to go. They have to hand over power to more level-headed and realistic people, who would be in the interim government, trying to salvage what can be salvaged in talks with the international community. Such a demand, Kojen explains, is gaining increasing support among the public at large in Serbia, which was confirmed at a recent assembly of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, when 56 academicians (some of whom later put their signatures on the demand) strongly called for Slobodan Milosevic's withdrawal from politics.

DEPOS is convinced that the interim government could, with the authority of a democratic state, turn to the international community with a request to lift the sanctions. DEPOS, we learn, is working on a document that would formulate particular attitudes connected with the blockade.

Another question on the agenda is the admittance of new collective members into this citizens' forum, in view of the fact that a large number of applications have recently been forwarded. Apart from the decision on certain parties that have expressed interest in participating in DEPOS activities, criteria will be adopted that will in future be used in considering membership applications.

Open Letter Calls on Milosevic To Resign

AU1606134792 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 92 p 12

[B.L. report: "Leave While There is Time"]

[Text] With a statement that it was not the time for revenge and bad blood, Nenad Canak, president of the League of Socialist Democrats of Vojvodina, delivered, as a citizen, an open letter to Slobodan Milosevic.

"Dear Mr. Milosevic,

"The country is in chaos. The war that you have organized is threatening Vojvodina and Serbia, Novi Sad and Belgrade. People are hungry. The world has isolated us like lepers. Invalids are on the streets. We already have food coupons, compulsory purchase of food, shortages of medicine and petrol. There is no longer elementary security for citizens, neither social, nor physical," Canak says in his letter.

"Stop lying to yourself with your propaganda. You have ruined Serbia. I know that, on several occasions, foreign emissaries from various international institutions have offered you dignified possibilities for your withdrawal, and I know that you have rejected them all.

"Dear Mr. Milosevic,

"Regardless of what happens to you, Serbia and Vojvodina have got to go on. If you do not step down immediately, you will soon find yourself in a Belgrade bunker, handing out anomalous iron stars to 15-year-olds, while Terazije shakes to the blasts of explosions and gunfire. Nobody needs that.

This is not the time for revenge and bad blood. There has already been too much of both. Leave. It will be too late when millions of people are in the streets demanding your head. On top of all the crimes committed so far, you will also be responsible for a civil war in Serbia.

If you do not leave now, the price of your withdrawal will be even higher. Unfortunately for you, the price that Serbia and Vojvodina are willing to pay for your withdrawal is increasing daily. Leave while you can, and thus do something for Serbia, which that has done so much for you," the letter concludes, and is signed—"with respect, citizen Nenad Canak."

Milosevic's Support Seen Melting Away

AU1606134592 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 92 p 1

[Ivkica Bacic report: "Slobodan Milosevic Signed Resignation?"]

[Text] Belgrade (From NOVI VJESNIK's regular correspondent)—The loneliest country in the world, whose citizens are suffering under sanctions unprecedented in postwar Europe, still has Slobodan Milosevic for president, and Radoman Bozovic for premier. The academician Mihajlo Markovic still has good standing in the Serbian Academy, which is rapidly distancing itself from the regime, together with the last of the leading national supporters.

A great spring cleaning has begun in Serbia. One can hardly count all those who are abruptly breaking their ties with the regime to which only recently they sang praises, and which has brought Serbia to a political, economic, and moral catastrophe. The Church and priests are fleeing (from responsibility), academicians are panicking, Orthodox pan-Slavs are befuddled, the

nationalist opposition is shifting sides, the "young and clever" Montenegrins are blaspheming, and POLITIKA is scheming publicly.

Somebody said: Milosevic has been deserted by everyone but fascists and hypocritical socialists, and when he soon finds himself unable to pay them any longer, he will also be betrayed by the police force and the army. Dragan Veselinov predicts that the only ones who will remain loyal to Milosevic are the fanatical Krajina people, whom he is keeping for a countdown with Vojvodina, Sumadija, and the people of Belgrade. The Krajina people are "the guard that is buried with the Pharaoh." Rumors are circulating locally that the "Pharaoh" has already written his letter of resignation. Apparently he has been forced to do so by some of his titled ideologists. Another version has it that the resignation has been forced, "in a peaceful and dignified way," by younger officers of the former Kadijevic's army. Some already "know" that his family has been moved to a safe place, and that he has been given an air-ticket for Cyprus.

Republic Seen Heading for Internal Collapse

AU1606143192 Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 92 p 2

[Stjepo Martinovic commentary: "Power in a Ditch"]

[Text] Milosevic is relinquishing presidential honors in "new Yugoslavia" and is tossing them into the lap of Dragoljub Micunovic, the leader of one of the more devious of the Serbian opposition parties. At the same time, Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the other, and only party to really challenge the crypto-socialists, is hesitating with D-day—"after which nothing will ever be the same in Serbia." And in subservient Podgorica, the little waiter [reference to Momir Bulatovic] suddenly loses interest in state functions, and declares that "he has nothing against an outside party person being elected president of the 'Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.'" What is going on in St. Sava totalitarianism, in which an insatiable hunger for power has always been regarded as best proof of Serbian correctness?

It seems curious to think that, in Serbia, power would "lie in a ditch," although the facts do not seem to contradict that. The Serbian state is now functioning by inertia, more so because nobody is fighting to take over control than because it is led by someone with an idea of what it is he wants and how to get there. It appears that Milosevic has the power, but, after the complete breakdown of his project, even he is bound to know that the delusion will last only until the aggression against non-Serbian countries comes back home, in the form of chaos within the Serbian political and national corps. The army is powerless; its identity torn between "the revival of the traditions of Vojvoda Putnik" on the one hand, and non-Yugoslavianism, violent folklore, and vulgar Chetnik doctrine on the other. In this common nightmare, conflicts arise—thus annulling their real power—between remnants of the SMB intelligence services, and the junta clique, tribal clans, and the criminal brotherhood of the knife....

Who then could rescue Serbian power from the ditch? The answer will be given soon—since sanctions hasten the fermentation of crises—by the one body that has always had the real power: the St. Savo fundamentalist leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church. And the answer will be given when, in the internal Serbian convulsions, the Church anticipates who is worthy of Dedinje with its edict in his hands. And the fact that the Patriarchy remains the unpunished keeper of the greater Serbian national statehood idea, despite the failure of one attempt at its embodiment, demands eternal caution from all in its neighborhood.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Briefs FRY President on Prime Minister

LD1606152992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—We have briefed academician Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], about our stand that, in line with the constitution, a candidate from Montenegro ought to have a mandate to propose a federal government.

Momir Bulatovic, chairman of the Democratic Party of Socialists [Demokratska partija socijalista—DPS], told journalists this following his talks with the Yugoslav president.

Our meeting today with the Yugoslav president considered the constitutional basis for designating the federal premier, Bulatovic stressed. We asked President Cosic to grant us an additional brief period of time for political consultations in Montenegro. These consultations, the DPS Chairman stressed, will not be held only at the level of the ruling party, but also within the framework of the previously scheduled meetings between the government and the opposition. As early as tomorrow, we will hold a meeting between representatives of the state bodies of the ruling party and parliamentary opposition parties. Thus, we want to have additional consultations in our republic in the next day or two, Bulatovic stressed.

Asked by journalists whether Montenegro is resolute in its stance not to give up its right to put forward a candidate, Bulatovic said that the FRY president has the sole right to do this. We are willing to discuss all issues, possibly controversial ones and let us hope not so controversial ones, on the basis of parliamentary experience and opportunities provided by the current constitution and organization of the parliamentary power.

Momir Bulatovic stressed that "it is too early to talk about dramatic and drastic misunderstandings. Even if problems arise, I think that they can be dealt with through normal parliamentary procedure and discussion

which is characteristic of not just the existing balance of power in the federal parliament, but also the federal system of our country," Bulatovic said.

Asked whether the republican president has already put forward his candidate for the post of prime minister, Bulatovic stressed that the election of Cosic as the republican president caught them by surprise, and precisely for that reason they do not have a candidate for the post of prime minister. We did not discuss other candidates for the post of federal prime minister with the republican president, Bulatovic concluded.

Democratic Party Urges Emergency Measures in FRY

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[Excerpts] Podgorica, 17 Jun (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Democratic Party [Demokratska stranka Crne Gore—MDP] holds that the imminent threat of war, the complete international isolation, and the threat of deteriorating internal relations are making it imperative for emergency measures to be introduced in Yugoslavia and hence in Montenegro. The Yugoslav Assembly and republican assemblies ought to adopt appropriate laws introducing emergency measures and determining the conditions when they should be lifted. [passage omitted]

In its statement, the MDP Executive Committee is reviews the very topical issue of the election of the federal premier. The party supports the efforts of the [ruling] Montenegrin Democratic Party of Socialists to ensure Montenegro's equality in the Federal Assembly. However, by insisting that its candidate is elected to the post of premier designate, the ruling party is not ensuring equality of the republic but is opening the issue of justifying the federal state. The MDP holds that under the present circumstances, an exception could be made to the rule of "republican rotation" without damaging the equality of the republic in the federal state. We are of the opinion that the ruling parties in Montenegro and Serbia are recklessly and unjustifiably opening a conflict about the election of the federal premier, the statement says.

Macedonia

Cases of Albanian 'Provocative Behavior' Cited

LD1606173792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 16 Jun 92

[Text] Skopje, 16 June (TANJUG)—Over the last four months, in the western part of the republic, particularly in the area of Struga municipality, there have been cases of provocative behavior on the part of the Albanian population aimed at stirring up wider conflicts, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Macedonia states.

The Ministry also says that obstruction of the police in carrying out their duties is aimed at destroying the constitutional order of Macedonia, with the creation of an autonomous region in this part of the republic as the essential goal.

The Ministry further states that on 21 March, the inhabitants of the village of Frangovo prevented a police patrol from detaining a group of Albanians who illegally crossed the border. On 25 May in the village of Radoliste, there was organized resistance to the police who were detaining several Albanian peasants and searching their houses on the well-founded suspicion that there were weapons and explosives hidden there.

On Sunday morning a Ministry patrol which arrived in the village of Radoliste in Struga municipality to arrest several peasants was met by shots from firearms, and one policeman was severely injured. The wounded Sadain Emini is being treated in Skopje.

The Ministry further states that in 16 peasant houses of this village eight rifles, four automatic rifles, one sniper rifle, 12 pistols, a large amount of ammunition, 12 protective masks, five pairs of binoculars, two camouflage uniforms, and other material were found and confiscated. At the same time 33 people, including three Albanian citizens who illegally crossed the border, were arrested.

Russian Minister's Visit to Macedonia Viewed

92BA1070A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 92 pp 25-26

[Article by Saso Ordanoski: "Kozyrev Among Friends"]

[Text] *After the exceptionally warm and friendly meeting that the Russian minister of foreign affairs had with the Macedonian state leadership in Skopje, one has the impression that Russia recognizes Macedonia de facto, but that it will wait a little bit before granting de jure recognition.*

After the first visit by Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev to the republics of the former Yugoslavia 10 or so days ago—a visit that Brussels' SOIRE called "tragicomic"—when, because of an urgent summons from Moscow, the minister had to postpone his planned arrival in Skopje, Kozyrev's arrival in Macedonia "on the second attempt," on 26 and 27 May, is being appraised by the Macedonian political public as a "bull's eye." People who were present at the actual, official talks between the Russian minister and Macedonian representatives say that "it has been a long time since we have seen such open and friendly talks, without any discord or any preconditions for establishing interstate relations between two sovereign countries."

Newspaper Scandal

Under the well-known circumstances of European and U.S. complications surrounding international recognition of Macedonia, the Macedonian public appeared somewhat nervous about commenting on the first

abruptly postponed attempt by Kozyrev to travel to Skopje, and rightly so: Aware of the influence of the Greek lobby in Europe and the world, of the unprincipled attitude of the United States and the EC towards Macedonia, and of the relatively subordinate political role played by the Russian Federation on the international political scene, the postponed visit by the Russian minister of foreign affairs was interpreted here, in the press and in the grapevine, as "yielding to pressure" and "the result of complicated scenarios surrounding the nonrecognition of Macedonia."

The fact that such speculation is not unfounded at this extremely politically sensitive moment for Macedonia is confirmed by the latest disinformation scandal provoked by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG. Specifically, last Tuesday, as Kozyrev was about to board the airplane for his trip to Ohrid, and the Macedonian delegation was already waiting for him at the airport there, TANJUG's Moscow office, in the early afternoon hours, broadcast an alleged report from the Russian agency INTERFAKS, to the effect that "Kozyrev is returning to Moscow" at Yeltsin's orders "in order to have an urgent meeting with his Ukrainian colleague." The report was denied at 1600 of the same day (after it had been reconfirmed by TANJUG) by none other than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, whose representative commented, sarcastically, "if the report were true, it would be natural for the Ministry itself to be informed about any change in Minister Kozyrev's visit," and that they had no indication of this.

"Kozyrev's visit," according to our diplomatic sources in Skopje, "is just as important for Russia as it is for Macedonia." Indeed, even President Gligorov, in his usual well-measured manner, emphasized this in his welcoming toast to Kozyrev that evening at the Metropol Hotel in Ohrid: "Through this act (recognition of Macedonia), the Russian Federation has demonstrated its impartial and mature understanding of the contemporary world, of peace and cooperation, and of the new European architecture." And in this "new European architecture," Kozyrev, on behalf of his government, clearly informed Skopje that they are counting on an independent and sovereign Macedonian state. The newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA characterized the talks that Kozyrev held in Macedonia as "the beginning of a new chapter in relations between Russia and Macedonia." Kozyrev even added that these "interstate relations, on equal footing and with respect, are directed not so much towards the past as towards the future."

Since no official Russian note on recognizing Macedonia was delivered during the Russian minister's visit to Macedonia, local journalists at the press conference held by Denko Maleski and Andrey Kozyrev insisted several times on a precise response from Minister Kozyrev about whether his words on recognition of Macedonia should be understood as Russia's definitive position with regard to Macedonia's international status.... Kozyrev, who repeated several times, and in different ways, that Russia had recognized Macedonia, finally stated definitively that "as far as diplomatic notes are concerned... that is a purely bureaucratic matter," adding that "if anyone wants to say that I am somewhere other than in the sovereign Republic of Macedonia and that I, as the minister of foreign affairs of Russia, am not meeting with the minister of foreign affairs of Macedonia and the president of the independent Republic of Macedonia—then let them write that." After that, Kozyrev made an unexpected move: From his briefcase he pulled a piece of paper (on which the name "Macedonia" was written in capital letters, first in Greek and then in Macedonian) and said, "As far as Greece is concerned, I can see on this piece of paper the difference between the name of the Republic of Macedonia and the same name written in Greek. I view this as a fundamental difference. In Russian, only one letter can radically change the meaning of a word!"

Traditional Ties

Naturally, this wordplay by Kozyrev leaves one with the impression that Russia has recognized Macedonia de facto, but that it has not yet done so de jure. However, if one compares the processes of official Russian recognition of Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia, one notices a certain consistency in the process: Several months ago, Russia let it be known clearly that it recognizes the state sovereignty and independence of the two northern republics of the former Yugoslavia de facto, and recently Kozyrev delivered an official Russian "paper" on this.

It is not trivial to mention one other detail from Kozyrev's visit to Macedonia. Specifically, although the official schedule for the visit did not provide for a meeting between Kozyrev and the archbishop of the Macedonian Orthodox Church [MPC], the Russian minister did in fact meet with Mr. Gavrilo, the head of the MPC, and had a lengthy talk with him. This is interpreted as a direct Russian response to the letter sent to Yeltsin by the Greek patriarch, in which the Greek patriarch cited the traditional Orthodox ties and friendship between Greece and Russia throughout history—after Russia's announcement that it would recognize Macedonia.

As far as the Greek reaction to Kozyrev's visit is concerned, diplomatic sources in Athens told this correspondent unofficially that it was their impression that "Kozyrev is trying to trick Greeks through his game about the Macedonian and Greek way of writing the name 'Macedonia,'" but that, in their opinion, "Russia is ready to formally recognize Macedonia before long."

Either way, the recognition of Macedonia that has come from Russia—in contrast to the interminable Western European and U.S. hesitation—is having a positive impact on the Macedonian political climate, because this stance adopted by Russia opens up the possibility that Macedonia will be recognized by a number of other states in the world to whom Russia's word still means something.

On the other hand, it is probably a good thing that Russian recognition was not tumultuously celebrated here with balalaikas and vodka, in the famous "Slavic manner." This was partly because of the realistic stance of the Macedonian state leadership in addressing Macedonia's position in the "new European architecture." But also so that people would not think that Macedonia would like to "dabble" in possibly renewed Russian "warm-sea" ideas.